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ICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

MICHIGAN HISTORY

LEWIS BEESON, Editor

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MICHIGAN HISTORY

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Mechanical Humbuggery Among the Western Farmers, 1860-90

Earl W. Hayter

In exploring the social history of the western farmers during the post-Civil War period one is impressed by the influence certain forms of humbuggery had on the development of attitudinal patterns of thinking. It was the beginning of a period of great expansion both economically and culturally for the Western agricultural area. The dynamics of an industrial civilization, accelerated by eastern and continental developments, were slowly interacting upon the lives and institutions of the Midwestern farmer. During the period there were multitudes of new gadgets, schemes, techniques, recipes, patent rights, in addition to horticultural developments to attract his attention. A few of these newer developments were useful for the farm and home and remained to produce permanent values, but many of them were nothing more than humbugs. Agents were ready and willing to hawk these wares among the rural inhabitants.

The appearance of these itinerants among the farmers came to be a real problem, since they intruded not only upon the farmer's time but relieved him of his money as well. Here is how one of the sufferers describes the "agent nuisance":

I should like to know what poor, innocent farmers and their wives have done, that they should be annoyed by such swarms of agents. You are importuned to subscribe for books of every kind and name, at prices that ought to buy up a retail store. Flower roots, wine plants, patent rights for everything under the sun, you are daily invited to buy.... Some people have had their patience so exhausted by repeated sieges on their time, in this way, that they will order every person off their premises who looks as if he was an agent, while others bear it as one of the crosses of this life which they cannot well avoid; others again, like myself, are

beginning to ask if there is not some remedy to be found for such nuisances.¹

The mechanical devices used in cajoling the farmers by these noxious itinerants may be classified into two main categories: those that were used inside the home; and those used in the operation of the farm. In all cases the different mechanical developments used in defrauding the farmer complied with at least one or two general requirements—they were supposed to eliminate a certain amount of drudgery connected with farm life for both husband and wife, and were advocated by the seller and accepted by the purchaser as a means of making the monotonous and arduous tasks of the farm and home a bit more interesting and in some cases even slightly more profitable.

The hard and arduous life of the farmer's wife conditioned her to accept the many fraudulent gadgets and improvements that were ostensibly intended to lighten her work. There were several tasks that most women disliked and from which there was little escape. Let a peddler arrive or an advertisement appear in the family journal promoting a new churn, incubator, clothesline, washing or sewing machine and she was quick to see the possibilities in them. In fact, the demand was so great on the part of the housewife for this type of labor-saving devices that by 1872 as many as eight hundred patents had been granted on the washing machine alone.²

An example of how hardworking and god-fearing farm people were victimized is provided by the technique used to sell washers. A company, whose product was given a name such as the "New Home Washing Machine," would flood the countryside with circulars or dispatch agents to the farmers' homes. The circulars informed the person receiving them that she was so prominent in her community she had been selected for a special promotional scheme. If she would send in a small amount of money and then be willing to show a machine to say five neighbors, the company would give her one at a greatly reduced price. When the washer arrived, it most generally was a "worthless apparatus" that was of little value in eliminating the miseries of wash day.⁸ In

¹Moore's Rural New Yorker (New York), 17:141 (May 5, 1866). ²Hearth and Home (New York), 4:286 (April 13, 1872).

^{**}Region and Flome (New York), 39:132; 41:240 (April, 1880; June, 1882); Prairie Farmer (Chicago), 50:284 (September 6, 1879); Western Rural (Chicago), 17:340; 18:21; 22:469 (October 25, 1879; January 17, 1880; July 26, 1884).

case an agent called at the home he usually inveigled the wife into becoming the local agent for his machine, whereupon he would send her a certain number of machines with the understanding that she was to have one free for her own use when the others had been sold. The agent might modify his technique slightly and sign her up for a definite territory, such as a township and for a certain number of machines. She would have the exclusive privilege of selling within this area. In either case it generally worked out in the end that in negotiating the contract the swindler saw to it that she unwittingly signed a note which was subsequently discounted at the local bank, and thus she was compelled to pay it before she was able to dispose of the machines in the community.4

There were several aspects of the arduous task of producing the butter supply for the family table that confounded the wisest of the housewives. There was not only the problem of converting the cream to butter, but there was also that of preserving it after the churning operation had been completed. The western homes were invaded by scores of agents and circulars selling territory or agencies for patented churns. These guaranteed butter from any kind of cream, and some even went so far as to assure the same result from sweet milk.⁵ Then there were agents who pretended to have a secret recipe or butter compound that would "coax the milk" or "make bad butter sweet." It was claimed that some of these marvelous formulae did not even require cream to produce butter. The farmer's wife was told that a certain amount of a powder placed in sweet milk would not only increase the quantity of butter, but would also prevent it from becoming rancid and would improve its quality and color.6

Housewives were constantly writing to the agricultural editors for advice on how to turn cream to butter or information on how to pre-

⁴Hollow clothesline wire agents did a thriving business by using the same technique. They would secure an order for so many thousand feet and give in return an agency; later the order would appear as a negotiable note. *Michigan Farmer* (Detroit), 11:7 (January 27, 1880); *Prairie Farmer*, 51:68 (February

Farmer (Detroit), 11:7 (January 27, 1880); Fraine Farmer, 51:00 (February 28, 1880).

Michigan Farmer, 1:189 (June 11, 1859); Western Farmer (Madison), 4:260; 5:2 (August 17, 1872; August 30, 1873); The Farmer (St. Paul), 2:502 (August 11, 1887).

6Prairie Farmer, 51:55 (February 14, 1880); American Agriculturist, 28:123; 34:87; 35:7 (April, 1869; March, 1875; January, 1876); Michigan Farmer, 7:114 (April 11, 1876); Western Rural, 7:286; 16:20; 18:364; 27:331 (September 9, 1869; January 19, 1878; November 13, 1880; May 25, 1889).

vent it from becoming rancid once it was churned. Consequently, it was not difficult to sell many of these recipes to those who struggled with the problem. Occasionally advice was offered in the form of "lecturers" who sold butter-making secrets. An Ohio correspondent reported on one of these itinerants as follows:

There is a man in this vicinity . . . representing himself as "Ohio's giltedge butter maker," giving free lectures on what he pretends to know about butter making. Says he will take three gallons of milk and make more butter by his process than can be made by any one by the old process from fifteen gallons of milk, and he will set his milk along side of theirs. Says he will wager \$20 that he can do it. Said that he opened a can of his butter last fall that had been packed for eighteen years, and it was good and sweet. Said he would get from six and a half to seven pounds butter from one gallon of cream, and that there would not be two spoonfuls of buttermilk to the gallon of cream.

Another task on the farm that fell to the lot of the wife was that of tending a flock of chickens. Poultry was an essential item on the farm. Anyone who has had any experience with chickens knows the vicissitudes and aggravations connected with raising them. Nothing is quite so obstreperous and fickle as a setting hen! The housewife had a three-fold objective in raising chickens: She had to see to it that they reproduced in ample numbers, that an adequate supply of eggs were laid, and that some of the latter were preserved for winter's use. To be successful in all of these requirements demanded considerable skill on the part of the farm wife.

To aid her in the problem of hatching chickens, there were agents, circulars, and advertisements in abundance selling "artificial mothers" or incubators, many of which were totally useless. Such devices were coming into use on a large scale at this period and as a consequence they offered a fertile field for the swindler. However, it should be stated that not all inventions placed on the market had no utility or value, but it is safe to say that most of them were generally advertised in the most extravagant terms and hence were used to deceive the farmer. Some of the better machines were discredited for the simple reason that the attendant lacked the patience and knowledge to operate them. A correspondent from Kansas wrote that in his section about nine-tenths "of the incubators in the market are, for practical use, about

⁷Ohio Farmer (Cleveland), 63:269 (April 14, 1883).

as near worthless as flying machines."8 Another reported that so many were purchased which proved impractical that nearly "every township has from one to fifty . . . now for sale, second-handed ones, that have proved to be a failure."9

One of the most notorious operators trafficking in questionable incubators was J. M. Bain, who lived in New Concord, Ohio. Bain falsely labeled himself the secretary of the North American Poultry Association and sold instructions on how to build and operate the popular Common Sense Incubator.¹⁰ He advertised widely that if a farmer would mail him a small sum of money, instructions on how to produce this famous incubator would follow. Within a short time, he would follow the inquiry of the reader of his advertisement with a circular offering his book telling how to operate the incubator for \$2. In one city alone where this advertisement appeared eleven hundred letters were received soliciting instructions.¹¹

Closely associated with the swindling connected with the sale of incubators was that with the purchasing of setting eggs, for if a farmer's wife hoped to have a thriving and profitable flock of laying hens she must periodically bring in some new blood. Again Ohio seems to have the distinction of harboring the most conspicuous swindler. J. M. North of Plymouth advertised eggs from fancy fowls and sold them at a fancy price "with the understanding that he was to have the privilege of purchasing chickens in the fall at \$5.00 each." An agent in Michigan sold Plymouth Rock eggs for as high as \$75 per dozen and agreed to buy all chickens hatched from the eggs for as high as \$100 apiece, another sold single rare eggs from a Dagobertian fowl reputed to have originated in France, while others advertised high priced eggs and then filled their orders with a nondescript kind. 13

There were agents and circulars with recipes for sale either in the form of family or township rights for the preservation of eggs, as well

⁸Ohio Farmer, 69:123 (February 20, 1886).

⁹Ohio Farmer, 70:311 (November 13, 1886).

¹⁰Ohio Farmer, 65:379 (May 31, 1884); Colman's Rural World (St. Louis), 37:186 (June 12, 1884).

¹¹Colman's Rural World, 36:7 (February 15, 1883).

¹²Moore's Rural New Yorker, 23:304 (May 13, 1871); Cultivator and Country Gentleman (Albany), 36:345 (June 1, 1871).

¹³Michigan Farmer, 13:4 (March 28, 1882); American Agriculturist, 36:456 (December, 1877); Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 40:295 (May 13, 1875).

as almost every other perishable product on the farm. Some sold "valuable" recipes for the canning of fruit for as much as \$5, and advertised that if used as directed they would "keep fresh for any length of time, without the use of sugar or heat, those fruits, vegetables, etc., that are usually canned." In one section of the Middle West over one hundred persons bought the family right to use this secret recipe, which consisted of nothing more than a half-ounce bottle of a highly colored powder. Others sold recipes for the making of soap, syrups, honey, vinegar, paints, and even perfumes.

The most highly discussed preparation sold during this period was one called Ozone, put out by Freshman Brothers in Cincinnati. Ozone was advertised in most of the farm journals as a "new perservative of perishable products." It was sold in a small test package for \$2. Its promoters had in mind contracting with the purchaser for a township or county right at a much larger sum. Ozone consisted of a powder that was to be burned in the barrel where meat was to be packed or in a vessel where other perishable foods were to be stored. A professor at the University of Michigan analyzed the compound and was reported by the *Ohio Farmer* to have found that it consisted of "simply a little powdered charcoal and sulphur, with a little cinnamon to give it a pleasant odor while burning." According to the same report "thousands were mulcted to the tune of \$2.00 for a 'test package' before the swindle was exposed."

The housewife and her daughters were frequently victimized by cloth dealers who traveled about the countryside with a line of "English" broadcloth or other fabrics that they had supposedly secured abroad from bankrupt firms. Talking like Englishmen and using the finest of samples, these dealers took orders for \$50 or \$100 worth of such goods, secured notes from their customers, and then went off to the nearest bank where the notes were discounted. To make it worse, when the orders had been filled, it was rare that the materials received

¹⁴American Agriculturist, 44:431 (October, 1885); Ohio Farmer, 68:104 (August 15, 1885).

¹⁵Michigan Farmer, 1:255 (August 6, 1859); Illinois Farmer (Springfield), 9:176 (June, 1864); Prairie Farmer, 41:185 (June 18, 1870); Western Rural, 16:340 (October 26, 1878); Orange Judd Farmer (Chicago), 5:191 (March 23, 1889); American Agriculturist, 30:7 (January, 1871).

¹⁶Ohio Farmer, 61:8 (January 7, 1882).

were as they had been represented. More usually they were of an inferior grade.¹⁷

There were several different swindling techniques besides the one mentioned above. Some dealers promised the purchasers that a tailor would accompany the order who would make up the cloth into the garments desired. A dealer in Illinois represented himself as an heir to an English fortune part of which was in cloth and claimed that consequently he was able to dispose of the cloth at half price.¹⁸ There were those who merely used the common circular in promoting their schemes. Through these they offered cloth at greatly reduced prices claiming that this was made possible by a ruse such as that "they had been able to escape the import duties." For a time these cloth swindlers were quite successful as is evident by the report that came from Lake County, Ohio, where it was estimated that \$60,000 had been taken by dealers in bogus goods.¹⁹

Musical instruments, jewelry, and silverware were very attractive to most housewives, and as a result there was ample opportunity for them to buy these items from peddlers and circulars that came into their homes. For a time there were firms who dealt in bogus organs, juvenile pianos, and musical boxes. The most notorious concern connected with such instruments was the D. F. Beatty Organ Company of Washington, New Jersey, which ran very large and attractive advertisements in the farm journals. ²¹

Lotteries and gift distribution techniques in many different forms were highly advertised and circularized at this time. Those who bought tickets in these schemes were offered a chance on the grand distribution prizes "of more than a half million dollars worth of things" that included such articles as pianos, watches, bibles, curling irons, silverware,

 ¹⁷Michigan Farmer, 4:332; 15:4 (November 4, 1873; May 6, 1884); Prairie Farmer, 47:28; 49:36 (January 22, 1876; February 2, 1878); Colman's Rural World, 36:4 (November 1, 1883).

¹⁸Chicago Daily Democrat, September 19, 1855; American Agriculturist, 44:479 (November, 1885); Michigan Farmer, 15:4 (February 5, 1884); Western Farmer (Madison), 5:4 (March 15, 1873); Prairie Farmer, 49:36 (February 2, 1878).

¹⁹ Michigan Farmer, 5:44 (February 6, 1874).

²⁰American Agriculturist, 29:166; 41:483 (May, 1870; November, 1882); Prairie Farmer, 41:357 (November 12, 1870).

²¹Colman's Rural World, 36:8 (March 22, 1883); Patrons of Husbandry, Bulletin of Wisconsin State Grange (Madison), 4:7 (September, 1878); Western Rural, 22:761 (November 29, 1884).

beautiful pictures and other items that intrigued the ticket purchaser.²²

Closely associated with the above distribution techniques was the traffic in men's watches and chains. These were sold by the thousands to farmers every year. Engraved gold hunting-case watches were sold for a small sum of money through large and highly decorated advertisements in newspapers. These were labeled attractively with high sounding foreign names.²³ Boston and New York were the two operating centers for these concerns. In most cases the imposters did not even maintain an office. Some of them made no effort to send the customer a watch, nor even a reply, but just kept the money; others would hoax the farmer by mailing him a sundial or some other substitute for the "timekeeper" he had ordered. These served the farmer only inaccurately to tell the time of day.²⁴

Since the sewing machine was most attractive to those who had families to care for, it was one of the most important of the articles used to bilk the farmer. Most of the clothes worn on the farm had to be made in the home. Sewing was one of the most difficult tasks of the farmer's wife. The many accounts of the "ceaseless efforts of weary fingers" were apparently not exaggerations. Consequently, there was a universal interest shown by the farm women in this labor-saving device and most of them did everything possible to earn money to purchase one.²⁵

Sewing machine patents had been issued to several inventors in the late forties and fifties and after a series of infringement suits a combination of the better machines had been perfected. Inventors issued licenses to certain firms and raised funds for purposes of protecting and extending their patents. For nearly a quarter of a century these firms controlled the industry by maintaining high prices as well as quality. But in spite of this monopoly there were smaller firms that operated

²²American Agriculturist, 27:86; 31:245; 36:414; 37:457; 44:388 (March, 1868; July, 1872; November, 1877; December, 1878; September, 1885); Prairie Farmer, 48:332 (October 20, 1877); Western Rural, 22:764 (November 29, 1884); Michigan Farmer, 5:148 (May 12, 1874); Farmers' Review (Chicago), 4:110 (February 12, 1880); Des Moines Daily State Register, January 5, 1877.

²³The editor of one farm journal stated in 1870 that there were ten concerns selling watches by circulars fraudulently. *American Agriculturist*, 29:167 (May, 1870).

²⁴Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 37:392 (June 20, 1872); American Agriculturist, 26:241 (July, 1867); Western Rural, 25:184 (March 19, 1887). ²⁵This interest was shown at the fairs where the sewing machine displays attracted great crowds of women. Illinois Farmer, 8:362 (December, 1863).

outside of the patent ring.26 These concerns made a cheap machine that sold for \$10 or \$15. It was propelled by hand. It was this type of sewing machine which often found its way into the rural areas. Most of them were of no lasting value.27

This fraud was as widespread as any of those connected with domestic farm life. By 1857 several farm editors reported that agents were flooding the Middle West with sewing machines.²⁸ A few years later a reporter from a section of Nebraska stated that there "are hundreds of cheap machines in this locality, doing the purchaser very little or no good."29 Some of these agents, in order to sell their machines. offered a "fine dress" as premium, others sold agencies, and still others used the gift enterprise device.30

In the eighties, following the expiration of the patents, whole "gangs of sharpers" began to work the note-dodge system on the farmers. One group covered a large section of Illinois and Wisconsin. Their plan of action was "to leave half a dozen sewing machines with a farmer, agreeing with him in writing that if he sells five of them at \$50 each, he is to have the sixth for his trouble, and if the machines are not sold at the end of six months, the agent is to take them back, and make no charge." The order was so set up by the agent that portions of it could be cut away, leaving the ordinary words of a negotiable promissory note for \$250 which could be discounted at a bank.31

The demand for sewing machines and the amount of swindling connected with them brought the better agricultural journals and even

²⁶The opposition to this monopoly was vociferous during the period of the patents. Agricultural journals brought pressure on Congress to prevent the extension of patents and personal attacks were made against Isaac Singer not only for his immense wealth but for the "vulgar magnificence" of his living as exemplified by his divorces, illegitimate children, and castles built in Europe. It was stated that he left an estate valued at \$13,000,000 to be divided among sixty heirs. Prairie Farmer, 46:348 (October 30, 1875); Hearth and Home, 4:915; 5:571 (December 14, 1872; July 20, 1872); Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 37:297 (May 9, 1872); Western Rural, 8:368 (November 17,

<sup>1870).

27</sup> American Agriculturist, 25:8; 30:166; 32:245 (January, 1867; May, 1871; July, 1873); Wisconsin Farmer (Madison), 20:12 (January 11, 1868); Prairie Farmer, 41:348 (November 5, 1870).

28 Michigan Farmer, 15:376, 377; 16:81; 2:221 (December, 1857; March, 1858; July 14, 1860); Northwestern Farmer (Dubuque), 3:247 (July, 1858); Moore's Rural New Yorker, 10:382 (November 26, 1859).

29 Prairie Farmer, 41:348 (November 5, 1870).

30 American Agriculturist, 29:167; 30:166; 31:86 (May, 1870; May, 1871; March, 1872); Michigan Farmer, 2:2 (January 7, 1871).

31 Prairie Farmer, 55:472 (July 28, 1883).

the granges into the field of distribution. A good example of the press activity was the American Agriculturist which after buying "a multitude of machines of all sorts, sizes and prices," finally found a lowpriced one which it could safely offer as a premium for those who secured a certain number of subscriptions to the journal.³² Some of the granges in the western states made arrangements with various companies whereby they could lower the price considerably by purchasing in quantity.³³ The Iowa State Grange in one year claimed a saving of \$5,000 for the farmers of that state, and in Wisconsin the Grange purchasing agent was able to sell \$75 machines for as low as \$28.35.34

A second phase of mechanical humbuggery was that associated with tools, devices, and implements used on the farm outside of the home. Most of the skulduggery in this field was perpetrated by traveling agents who introduced a new gadget by selling territory for the patented article. They would sell the farmer township or county sales rights, obtain his signature on an order for four or five of the articles. after which the order would turn up as a promissory note. There were minor modifications in this technique but in general ninety-five percent of the swindling was done in the note-dodge manner.

There were many devices that attracted the farmer's eve. One of these was the small contraption called a sickle grinder. This was used to hold a sickle to the grindstone while it was being sharpened. It was difficult to hold a sickle by hand and get it sharp and this made a brisk demand for the device. Evidence that farmers were required to pay notes of \$200 or \$300 for several dozens of these grinders, notwithstanding the fact that at the time they signed the contract the swindlers led them to believe that they were to be paid for when sold, is not uncommon for most of the midwestern states.³⁵ The following letter from a farmer in Ohio describes the way an agent operated in one neighborhood:

. . . an agent goes to a farmer's residence and shows . . . a sickle grinder

³² American Agriculturist, 31:88 (March, 1872).

⁸⁸ Prairie Farmer, 44:396; 45:236 (December 13, 1873; July 25, 1874); Michigan Farmer, 6:95 (March 23, 1875).

³⁴Patrons of Husbandry, Abstract of the Proceedings of the National and State Granges for the Year 1872, 4:20 (Des Moines, 1873); Patrons of Husbandry, Bulletin of Wisconsin State Grange, 1:4 (May, 1875).

⁸⁵Michigan Farmer, 13:4; 15:4 (February 21, 1882; February 19, 1884); Western Rural, 20:93 (March 25, 1882); American Agriculturist, 41:5 (January, 1882).

which he says he will give the farmer for his influence in selling to his neighbors. All that he asks is that the farmer sign a "voucher," which afterwards turns up as a note for several machines which a second man delivers. They fleeced Mr. Murdock out of \$150, Mr. I. Yoder out of \$210, and R. S. Oder, \$200. A total of \$560 in one neighborhood.³⁶

Associated with the fraud in sickle grinders were those in grainbag holders and wagon tongue supporters or stiffeners. Both these items were attractive to the farmers and for a time a sizeable traffic was carried on by agents who usually represented eastern firms. These items generally sold for around \$5 each. The objective of the "waggin" tongued agents was to sign up a particular farmer for an agency and a dozen or more of the supporters. This same technique was used by the "oily-tongued rascals" in farm scales, saws, shotguns, and steamers. In the case of the latter, farmers had been for three decades urged by the agricultural press to cook or steam cattle feeds. Implement companies had at last placed on the market patented cookers, boilers, and furnaces through the medium of traveling agents, and thus many were hawked among the farmers.

The sale of shotguns was handled almost exclusively through advertisements in the rural press. Through this medium a questionable company would place on the market high-priced rifles, revolvers, and shotguns which they offered to sell at a "tremendous" reduction. The most notorious firm was the Chichester Rifle Company. Their advertisement, showing a hunting scene of deer that had been shot by their rifles, covered a whole page. Their guns sold for \$4.50.40 The agricultural press was tempted to accept gun advertisements from unreliable firms since the companies offered farm journals as much as \$1,000 if they would run them. Several of the better journals refused to sell space to the companies offering guns and other unreliable articles; however many of the less prosperous papers could not resist them. The editor of the *Michigan Farmer* not only turned them down but he noti-

³⁶Ohio Farmer, 69:193 (March 20, 1886).

³⁷Michigan Farmer, 11:4; 12:4 (May 25, 1880; December 13, 1881); Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 43:680 (October 24, 1878); Farmers' Review, 10:268 (April 26, 1883).

³⁸Richard Bardolph, Agricultural Literature and the Early Illinois Farmer (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 29, nos. 1 and 2), 129 (Urbana, 1948).

³⁹Michigan Farmer, 15:4; 16:4 (August 5, 1884; March 3, 1885). ⁴⁰American Agriculturist, 39:298 (August, 1880); Western Rural, 18:60 (February 21, 1880).

fied his readers that "we think those shotguns are all 'loaded' and our readers had better leave them ... alone."41

Traveling agents went through the countryside taking orders and selling agencies for larger items such as feedmills, stump pullers, windmills, reapers, mowers, harrows, seeders, and fences. With the exception of the latter, the method used for selling them was more or less the same; namely, the note-shaving scheme. But in the case of fences a new angle was used in disposing of the wire. One plan was to offer to give the farmer free of charge fifty rods of new fence if he would build it along the road where it could be seen by his neighbors. This would look like an attractive offer, for fences were in great demand at that time, so the farmer would sign a permit and then have it installed. In a few days a stranger would arrive to collect for so many coils of barbed wire at so much a foot. The paper he had signed turned out to be not a permit but an order for the amount of wire. 42

A second plan for selling fence wire in the Midwest was described by a reporter in DeKalb County, Illinois, during the late eighties. He stated that a certain agent

calls on a farmer and offers to put up an eight-wire fence at eight cents per foot. This is apparently so cheap that the farmer usually signs the contract. Then when the bill comes in, the deluded farmer finds that he has agreed to pay eight cents per foot for each particular wire, instead of that amount for the entire eight. When the scheme works right the farmer has to surrender his farm in part payment and give his note for the balance.43

The note-shaving scheme, so widely used during this period, is best illustrated in connection with the sale of seeding machines. Sharpers went about inducing farmers to give notes for these implements in the belief that they were becoming selling agents for them, in return for a fee of \$10 to be paid after \$275 worth of the machines had been sold. The accompanying illustration is a reprint from a contemporary journal

SMITHVILLE, PA., April 15th, 1871.

One year after date, I promise to pay A. Sharp or bearer ten dollars, when I sell by order, Two Hundred and seventy five dollars worth of Seeding Machines for value received, at ten per cent. per annum, said Ten Dollars, when due, is payable at Smithville, Pa. JOHN SMITH, Agent for A. Brown.

Witness: JOHN DOE.

 41Michigan Farmer, 15:4 (February 5, 1884).
 42American Agriculturist, 36:327 (September, 1877); Michigan Farmer, 14:5 (November 13, 1883).

48Sycamore True Republican, January 4, 1889; DeKalb Daily Chronicle, May 31, 1890.

of the instrument used by the agents. The farmer, after reading it, supposed it to be an obligation for only a small conditional sum, but the swindler, by cutting the paper in two between the words *or* and *bearer* in the first line, had in the left piece a perfect note for \$275.44

Having induced a farmer to accept an agency, as specified in the original note, and having obtained his signature, the sharper departed. He then sheared off the right-hand portion, proceeded to the nearest broker or banker, to whom he offered to sell the note at a discount. The signer was generally a responsible person, well known to the business men of the village, and the note was purchased. When the note fell due and was presented for collection, the signature was indisputable, and the horrified farmer was compelled to pay \$275 when he had supposed that he owed only \$10. According to the *Rural New Yorker* this was "one of the most infamous of all tricks of deception," and was "largely practiced throughout the country."

The greatest of all forms of humbuggery that the rural dwellers ever experienced, which lasted for nearly a half-century, and extended throughout many of the western and eastern states was that connected with the lightning rod. Most of the farmers had long been bilked with schemes motivated by get-rich-quick ideas, or the elimination of drudgery and monotony in certain farm and home operations. But in the case of the lightning rod farmers fell easy prey to the imposters who stalked the countryside peddling them because of their ability to capitalize upon the fears and anxieties inherent in mankind. The natural phenomenon of lightning frightened the farmer since he did not understand it, and losses to property and life had been numerous and heavy as was indicated in the "Insurance Items" in the rural press. So naturally, since most farmers were frightened by these reports, when the season approached for such dangers, there likewise appeared the lightning rod man, "whose tongue after a winter's rest is ready to wag with more than usual glibness."46

Methods used for selling this product followed more or less a uniform pattern and were generally, as stated above, based on the idea of fear.

⁴⁴Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 36:313 (May 18, 1871); Moore's Rural New Yorker, 23:368 (June 10, 1871); Patrons of Husbandry, Bulletin of the Wisconsin State Grange, 7:1 (October 17, 1881).

⁴⁵ Moore's Rural New Yorker, 23:368 (June 10, 1871).

⁴⁶American Agriculturist, 38:174 (May, 1879); Farmers' Review, 5:73; 8:313 (July 29, 1880, May 18, 1882).

If the peddler were allowed to tell his story he would surely convince most farmers that they lived in imminent danger, and even though the buildings had safely stood for years without the lightning rods, that fact in itself would make the whole area "a harvest field for the rodders." These itinerants usually delighted in finding only the women at home when they called for it was easier to work on their fears, and the "weaker sex" were less able to "get rid of them." They would narrate to these innocent farmwives a list of fake statistics on how many women and children had been killed "last year" by this dreadful menace. If the farmer or his wife showed more fear of thunder or cyclones than of lightning, these glib talkers had just the proper kind of rod for that danger; they would sell them a "gold tipped rod that would take care of thunder," or a special type that would "scare away the cyclone."

When the rodders met with too much resistance, they frequently resorted to a "persuader" that they carried in the form of a "portable lightning battery" which they used to apply shocks of electricity and these, likened to the power of lightning, usually brought about the desired signature even from the most obdurate citizens of the community. In case they came upon buildings that were already equipped, they frequently attempted to convince the farmer that his rods were ineffective and that if he would buy theirs a liberal allowance would be made on the old ones. Once they persuaded the farmer to have them installed, their next move was to sell him an expensive kind. They usually had in their display several types of highly ornamented forms with fancy points, glass insulators, and rods that were square, twisted or triangular in shape. Sometimes they brought forward a "hollow rod" in order, as they said, "to let the fluid freely down into the ground."

⁴⁷American Agriculturist, 38:175; 39:298 (May, 1879; August, 1880); Michigan Farmer, 1:531 (August 13, 1870).

⁴⁸Michigan Farmer, 19:4 (March 24, 1888); Prairie Farmer, 46:196 (June

⁴⁹ American Agriculturist, 46:37, 487 (January, November, 1887); Des Moines Daily State Register, August 23, 1878; Western Rural, 19:92, 148, 149; 22:389 (March 19, May 7, 1881; June 21, 1884). See also Ohio Farmer, 65:348 (May 17, 1884); Patrons of Husbandry, Bulletin of Wisconsin State Grange, 1:3 (January, 1875); Prairie Farmer, 40:225 (July 17, 1869). In order to protect the farmers from these imposters, the agricultural editor of the Des Moines Daily State Register printed a facsimile of a contract issued by the North American Star Copper Rod Company in the July 5, 1878 issue.

The humbuggery really showed up in the contract used in clinching the deal in marketing these rods. A Kane County, Illinois, farmer has left a good description of how the fraud was handled in his community. He stated:

Agents of a lightning rod company are perambulating through this county. They go to a farmer and agree to rod his building for a given sum. Then they present him with a written contract, read it over to him, not as it is written, but according to the verbal agreement. The price agreed upon, we will say was \$20 for rodding a barn. An employe [sic] puts up the rods, and presents a bill of \$240, \$20 a rod. "But," says the farmer, "you agreed to rod the barn for \$20."—"The contract reads \$20 per rod."—"You did not so read it."—"You must pay according to the written contract," says the employe. Now I advise every farmer to order lightning rod men off their premises and in no case to sign your name to any paper. 50

Another phase of the swindle revealed when the contract was really understood occurred when the agents signed the farmer to rod a building or buildings and promised to install a certain number of feet free if the farmer would pay seventy-five cents per foot for all the balance that was needed. Such a contract led to wholesale abuses in the amount of rods necessary and the number of buildings covered. A farmer from Birmingham, Michigan, describes the excesses his neighbor encountered with such a contract. He writes as follows:

Not very long ago a slick, genteel lightning rod man called on Mr. Spear, who gave him a signed order to rod his house at a cost of not over \$10, and with about sixty feet of lightning guide, and soon there appeared a gang of men who began their work of ornamentation and astonishment. They rodded the house, the kitchen, the woodshed, the little house, the pig-pen, the cow-shed, the chicken-coop, and chased an old cow clear to the back lot and tried to get a rod on her. . . . Anyhow the farm house bristles with lightning rods so that it looks like the back of a fretful porcupine. ⁵¹

This report goes on to say that since the farmer was unable to get the crew to cease, he finally had to settle with the agents by giving his note for \$335.

⁵⁰Orange Judd Farmer, 5:326 (May 25, 1889). The rodders often gave an insurance policy on the buildings to those who purchased the rods from them as a guarantee that they were properly installed. *Michigan Farmer*, 17:4 (November 2, 1886).

as a guarantee that they were properly instance. Menigan Farmer, 17:4 (November 2, 1886).

51 Michigan Farmer, 17:4 (April 20, 1886). See also Michigan Farmer, 16:4 (August 18, 1885); Farmers' Review, 10:382 (June 14, 1883); Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 36:744-45 (November 23, 1871); Western Rural, 13:180; 15:172 (June 5, 1875; June 2, 1877); American Agriculturist, 45:225 (May, 1886); Ohio Farmer, 67:432 (June 27, 1885); Illinois Farmer, 9:276 (September, 1864).

These notes almost invariably were sold to some "innocent" third party who would notify the farmers when they came due—but under quite different terms, to the farmers' astonishment, than those agreed upon by the agent and himself at the time of settlement. Because of the unfair advantages taken by the agents, discontent and indignation grew among the farmers, and although the agents attempted to offset this growing indignation by making a special point of the fact, in trying to sell the rods, that payment could be made "in installments" and that the notes "would never leave the hands of the lightning rod company," this surprise element in collecting had caused such wide-spread protest from the grangers that in many sections the victims organized movements to resist the payments.⁵² However, they generally failed in their efforts in the courts, for those who held the notes were declared innocent parties and not participants in the original transactions.⁵³

Various estimates were made by leading journalists as to the amount, as well as the extent, of this swindle. Profits were enormous for the agents since they always sold more rods than were needed and at prices three to four times what they had cost the agents. It was stated by these observers that if a farmer would install his own rods it would not run much beyond \$4 or \$5 per building; the agents, by literally studding the structure with rods, usually managed to get the figure up to \$50 or more. One person reported from Wayne County, Indiana, that so many farmers succumbed to the lure of the rodders that the money thus wasted would have purchased them subscriptions to a good agricultural journal for the remainder of their lives.⁵⁴ Another observer in Wisconsin remarked:

. . . if we had all the money they have taken out of the pockets of Wisconsin farmers, without proper equivalent, we could put a fine library into every Grange hall in the state, and have enough left to pay the expenses of a few hundred young men up to Madison this winter to attend the short course.⁵⁵

⁵²Prairie Farmer, 46:36 (January 30, 1875); American Agriculturist, 38:175 (May, 1879); Des Moines Daily State Register, April 13, 1877.

⁵³It was a lucrative business. One person alone bought up as much as \$17,000 of these "shaved" notes. Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 36:744-45 (November 23, 1871)

⁵⁴ American Agriculturist, 38:291 (August, 1879).

⁵⁵Western Farmer and Wisconsin State Grange Bulletin (Madison), 4:2 (November 7, 1885).

The Prairie Farmer editorialized by saving that after "watching and exposing thousands of humbug operations . . . for almost a third of a century, we place the lightning rod swindle ahead, so far as the amount of money fraudulently taken from the people is concerned."56 In Iowa, "Father" Clarkson, the agricultural editor of the Daily Iowa State Register, observed in 1878 that the whole state was "covered by Lightning Rod agents."57 Further to the west and three years later a Kansas farmer wrote to an editor that the rodders had "done" so many people in his community that they "are sick and sore."58

It was not only the amount of money that had been taken out of these rural communities that irked the farmers, many questioned just how effective the lightning rods were in really protecting their buildings. There was much discussion at the time as to whether or not they had been properly installed. The farmers were not informed as to the necessary size of the cable or how deeply it had to be placed in the ground so as to give proper protection; as a result of this ignorance the rodders frequently used too small a cable or failed to bury it deeply enough into the moist earth. Several journals of the day carried articles on how to install lightning arrestors properly and some journals circulated pamphlets to their subscribers. Joseph Henry, the leading authority on electricity, contributed his expert advice. The following are a few lines from one of his treatises:

... the manner in which they are usually put up by the itinerants ... is to say the least, exceedingly faulty, and not infrequently probably less safe than a building would be if left wholly without them. The radical error in these peddled rods is their size, which is usually from three-eighths to onehalf inch, instead of three-fourths, which experience seems to have demonstrated as the smallest safe size.59

It was recommended by several of these authorities that the farmers have the rods made by their local blacksmith or buy them from the Grange, put them up themselves and thus avoid the swindling agents.

⁵⁶Prairie Farmer, 57:392 (June 20, 1885).

⁵⁷Des Moines Daily Iowa State Register, July 5, 1878. See also Shellsburg (Iowa) Record, June 24, 1876; Osceola (Iowa) Sentinel, July 6, 1876; Atlantic (Iowa) Telegraph, August 9, 1876.

⁵⁸Farmers' Review, 6:345 (June 2, 1881).
⁵⁸Wisconsin Farmer, 12:229-30 (August, 1860); Michigan Farmer, 1:477 (June 25, 1870); Ohio Farmer, 63:292 (April 21, 1883); Prairie Farmer, 46:297 (September 18, 1875); Cultivator and Country Gentleman, 42:131; 52:70 (March 1, 1877; January 27, 1887).

In conclusion, it can be said that nearly the whole gamut of mechanical devices was used to humbug the western farmers-from small articles for the home to the larger implements used on the farm. However, by 1890 it was evident that there was a definite reduction in the effectiveness of these schemes to defraud. The farmer on the whole had gotten wise by this time to the many schemes of the sharpers. and his gullibility had slackened considerably, for most of the farmers had had sufficient time to learn from their own experience or from those of their neighbors. An exceedingly important factor in this change was that farmers had been educated by the press and other agencies, such as the farm organizations, to beware of peddlers and circulars which offered them something for nothing. It might be noted also that the closing of the frontier may have had some influence in decreasing these swindling schemes, which seemed to flourish best in those areas and settlements which had been most recently occupied. Furthermore, certain laws had been enacted both in the states and in the nation which offered more protection to the innocent farmers: courts also by this time had begun to hold responsible the purchasers of discounted notes, and bankers could no longer hide behind the "innocent" clause which previously had protected them; Congress likewise had passed amendments to the postal laws which had made it increasingly more difficult for swindlers to use the mails to disseminate their circulars. 60 Finally numerous restrictions had been placed on those who chose the lottery or gift enterprise techniques. All these combined forces aided greatly in reducing the amount of humbuggery following the decade of the eighties.

⁶⁰Congressional Record, volume 17, part 1:135, 770; part 3:3140 (49 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1886); Western Farmer and Wisconsin State Grange Bulletin, 5:2 (November 27, 1886); Michigan Farmer, 19:4 (February 6, 1888); The Farmer (St. Paul), 4:337 (December 1, 1888); Western Rural, 26:284 (May 5, 1888); Orange Judd Farmer, 5:241 (April 20, 1889).

The California Gold Rush as Reported by the Marshall Statesman

Daniel M. Epstein

ON JANUARY 24, 1848, GOLD WAS DISCOVERED IN CALIFORNIA. The files of the Marshall Statesman, published by Seth Lewis, reflect the excitement aroused in Michigan by the lure of California's gold.¹ The important discovery beyond the Rocky Mountains was first announced by the Marshall newspaper to its readers in the little Michigan village of slightly more than two thousand persons in its issue of December 12, 1848, when it printed President Willard Polk's message to Congress of December 5. That message informed the nation of the discovery of gold in California in January, 1848. Shortly after the president's annual message was published in the newspapers of the country the Gold Rush to California began.

In the issue of the *Statesman* for December 26, 1848, the second issue printed after gold was first mentioned, there appeared an article entitled "Ho! For California!" in which the *Statesman* stated that initial steps had been taken to raise and organize a company in Marshall and vicinity to take the overland route for California early in the spring. The paper informed interested readers that "An adjourned meeting of those who may wish to embark in this expedition will be held at the Editor's effice next Saturday evening at 7 o'clock."²

¹The purpose of this paper is to show how the role played by the citizens of Michigan in the Gold Rush of 1849 was reported by the Marshall Statesman during the period from January 25, 1848, to August 18, 1858. The author has tried to determine through a study of editorials, letters, news articles, and extracts published in the Marshall Statesman the part played by the people of Marshall and vicinity in one of the most sweeping and far-reaching movements in American history. As the files of the Statesman are complete for the years studied, a total of 519 newspaper issues were perused. A file of the Marshall Statesman is in the possession of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. Secondary works were freely consulted, principally for a view of the policies of the Marshall Statesman and its publisher, Seth Lewis, and to ascertain the part reflected by the newspaper itself in the life of the community. Other sources were utilized in substantiating various ideas and viewpoints that the writer obtained in his examination of the newspaper.

²Marshall Statesman, December 26, 1848. Henceforth references to the

Statesman will be by date only.

The Statesman in a subsequent copy described the steps being taken to organize a company for the westward trek and the consultations necessary to select the proper route. Further meetings were to be called in the immediate future at the Mechanics' Hall in Marshall. In the same issue the Statesman suggested that \$10,000 be raised by one hundred men, paying \$100 each, which would probably make a sum sufficient to purchase all the necessities to reach California, and leave enough for several months' subsistence after arriving there.³ The following week the newspaper announced that there would be a meeting of those who wished to sign the articles of association and agreement of the California company. Ten dollars were to be paid on signing the articles.⁴

The formation of a California company for the city of Marshall was soon completed, the company being named the "Wolverine Rangers." By February 14 the Statesman was able to inform its readers that

the "Wolverine Rangers"—the company organizing here to go to California via Independence and Fort Hall, now number twenty-four. As soon as six more join, and from appearances that will be within a few days, the company will proceed to a permanent organization under its articles of association and agreement, and pursuant thereto. It is desirable that all who conclude to join this company should do so soon, that it may be understood what quantities of supplies will be needed for the expedition.⁵

A notice appeared in the next two issues announcing that a meeting would be held on February 28 in the office of the *Statesman's* editor, James Pratt, who had been chosen secretary pro tem of the Rangers, to elect officers and agents of the company.⁶

Meanwhile, the rest of Michigan was teeming with activity. A large company was organized at Albion for California and was ready to leave in teams for its destination. In Centreville, Coldwater, Union City, Paw Paw, Grand Rapids, Adrian, Ann Arbor, Detroit, and other places expeditions were being fitted out. The numbers seeking the El Dorado from the state of Michigan surpassed all expectations. The Statesman assured its readers that the coming year would be an interesting one in the history of the country. Since few would be left behind who would not look eagerly for news of absent kindred or

⁸January 3, 1849.

⁴ January 10, 1849.

⁵February 14, 1849.

⁶February 21, 1849.

friends, the Statesman stated that it would endeavor to keep its readers well advised of the progress and movements of those that had left from its section of the country.⁷ It lived up to its promise.

On March 7, 1849, James Pratt, the editor of the Statesman, who was selected as one of the agents of the Wolverine Rangers, wrote his last editorial. It was entitled "Valedictory of the Editor." In it he told his friends farewell and stated that he would always remember with pleasure and satisfaction the time he lived and labored in their midst. As agent of the Wolverine Rangers, Pratt left before the main body of the company to act as an advanced guard.

By March 7 the Rangers had thirty-six members. It was hoped that the company would be able to leave Marshall on April 5, 1849. Meanwhile, its books remained open for prospective recruits.

The Statesman reprinted an editorial that appeared in the Democratic Expounder in which the rival Marshall newspaper wished the "California Boys" Godspeed and suggested that the citizens of the village present the expedition with a national flag before it left.8

In its issue of March 21, 1849, the Statesman printed the following news item:

The California boys have had an accession of six members to their company of Woolverine [sic] Rangers, from the county of Washtenaw. They are all good looking fellows, and appear to be of the right stamp to make good associates.

Hence, from published figures, the Rangers had now reached fortytwo in number.

With the publication in March, 1849, of a letter from James Pratt, under a special heading, "Correspondence with the Late Editor," the Marshall Statesman began a policy that it pursued throughout the years under review. From the departure of the first company of Wolverine Rangers, and with subsequent expeditions, the Statesman kept its public informed of the progress, whereabouts, and success of the various California emigrees by publishing correspondence written by members of the organization.

The Statesman of April 11, 1849, contained the announcement that the Wolverine Rangers would take their final leave of Marshall on Tuesday or Wednesday of the next week (April 18th or 19th). By

⁷February 28, 1849. ⁸March 7, 1849.

this time the list of members contained fifty-one names. The same edition carried a list of officers and members of the company with the residence and occupation of each. The members of this first expedition to leave Marshall came, not only from that city, but from the localities of Plymouth, Clarendon, St. Joseph, Bellevue, Lansing, Battle Creek, etc. Their occupations formed a representative cross section of the populace, ranging from that of a blacksmith to a preacher and including a lawyer, saddler, machinist, carpenter, physician, student, tinner, farmer, millwright, and clerk.

In a letter from Independence, Missouri, postmarked April 26, 1849, a member of the Rangers, stated that

we are invited to supper this evening at 5 o'clock with Mr. Moore and Smith from Battle Creek, in their camp near the village. They are young men who talked of joining us in Marshall, but who came on in their team with their supplies, and who now conclude to travel in our train.⁹

Therefore, the ranks of the California company were swelled to fifty-three if the *Statesman's* count is accurate and if all who intended to leave Marshall reached Independence. The difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of giving definite figures on the numbers from Marshall and other Michigan cities who participated in the Gold Rush can be judged from this one incident. Only through a study of letters, correspondence, and extracts appearing in the Marshall *Statesman* from January, 1849 on, can one discover the large number of Michigan residents that had gone to California that were not mentioned in the news columns of the *Statesman*.

Soon letters began arriving from members of the Wolverine Rangers relating the news of the deaths of various members of the company from cholera, which was to prove a more formidable obstacle than both the Indians and nature. From May, 1849, when the Rangers left Independence, until the members of the company finally reached the California diggings in November, 1849, they were to send a steady stream of news to the *Statesman*. Their letters appeared in the paper one or two months later, depending on the distance travelled and the communications available. The regular flow of letters ceased during the latter part of August to the middle of October, and this dearth of information can be explained by a letter received from

⁹May 16, 1849.

H. C. Ladd written one hundred and fifty miles north of Sutter's Fort and dated October 18, 1849:

We have been grossly deceived by going a new route from the Humboldt to the North of Lawson's Pass of the Mountains, making our route at least one month longer than it would have been on the old route. 10

Because of this deception, their total loss of property, and their sufferings, surviving members of the Wolverine Rangers dissolved their association and continued on in small parties. They had left Marshall in April, 1849. The first Rangers to reach California arrived in San Francisco on December 8, 1849. It had taken them approximately eight months.¹¹ Thus ended the first organized journey to the land of gold by citizens of Marshall and vicinity.

By the spring of 1850, the gold fever had reached epidemic proportions throughout the country. Michigan was to prove no exception. One can observe the pattern that the movements westward were to follow. The expeditions were to leave primarily in the spring, usually in April, and were to arrive at their destinations in the early fall, usually after a journey of about six months.

The Statesman on March 20, 1850, devoted a four-column spread to letters from the "Marshall boys" in California. It was preceded by an introductory paragraph stating:

... we are enabled to publish the following (letters), which will be read with great interest by the numerous friends of the Rangers, and especially, as companies are now forming to the gold region by the justly dreaded overland route....

Throughout the news there appeared advice by those who had made the journey to their friends and relations intending to make the trip. Typical of these letters is one written by the Rev. Jas. [sic] M. Wright, who related the hardships and miseries of California and advised others to stay at home.¹²

Nevertheless, in early April, 1850, it was again "Ho! For California" and a stake in the wealth of the West. The *Statesman* announced: "A large concourse assembled on Tuesday morning to witness the departure of another company for California. We publish the names of all who have left during the past few days." A total of fifty-two per-

¹⁰January 9, 1850.

¹¹February 20, 1850.

¹²March 27, 1850.

sons, composing three separate companies, is listed.¹⁸ The members consisted of residents of Marshall, Ann Arbor, Marengo, Saline, and other places. The newspaper stated that others had left for California by way of New York and the Isthmus. The names of these emigrants and their actual numbers are not revealed. This omission in the news stories occurs frequently and makes practically impossible an accurate tabulation of the Michigan residents who participated in the westward movement.

For many who left for California there are no records. From the columns of the Marshall Statesman, we catch glimpses of others on their way to California or already there. In printing the news of the progress of recently organized companies that had left Marshall, the Statesman names companies for whom no other record is known but this single mention.14 Other companies are mentioned anonymously as is the following: "Last week a company of ten left Albion for California. Chas F. Stockwell, Esq., formerly professor in the Albion Weslevan Seminary, was one of the number."15 From letters written by California arrivals to their families we learn of other Wolverine residents that had reached the Pacific Coast. 16 A letter written by Charles Nash, who reached San Francisco via the Cape, tells of his meeting with old friends. Some had gone to California with the Marshall company, others independently of any organized groups.17

By December, 1850, the return of some Michigan residents of the first expedition of 1849 is reported by the Statesman. Some were to settle down to their old trades, others were to return to California with their families, but nowhere during the period 1849-58 was there any mention of an emigrant being able to retire on his recently acquired wealth, although this might have been true for a later date.

The year 1851 found the "gold bug" again infecting a large number of the population. That it was still "Ho! For California"—and a quick way to get rich or disillusioned—is indicated by the following item in the Statesman: "O. B. Austin, Genhamin Givins, Geo. Pringle, A. Mc-Pherson, and E. G. Squier, of this village, left for the land of gold

¹³April 3, 1850. ¹⁴May 8, 1850. ¹⁵May 29, 1850. ¹⁶September 11, 1850.

¹⁷April 10, 1850.

on Wednesday last. They go by way of the Isthmus."18 Other parties undoubtedly left that spring, for in September, 1851, there is printed a notice of the arrival of quite a number of Wolverines, among them being twelve from Albion.19

In the spring of 1852 the gold fever seemed to have reached its peak in Michigan. The emigration to California was very large, but by this time its character had somewhat changed. In many instances families were going west with the view of permanent residence. Groups were leaving with regularity and in large numbers. Thirty individuals had assembled at Detroit in preparation for their departure.20

The activity for the year 1852 is described by the following news item entitled, "The California Bound," printed in the Statesman:

It is possible that there may be a few of those mentioned who will not go, but if so, the number of those whose names we have not obtained will more than make up the number. Indeed, a gentleman from Albion, who was in our office yesterday, informed us that our list was not large enough by nearly forty. It now numbers over one hundred! and if we are correctly informed it will be swelled to one hundred and forty!! And this only from one portion of the country! Perhaps this will not be a correct basis by which to estimate the emigration of the rest of the country, but we think that there can be no doubt that Calhoun County will this spring send at least five hundred! to the Gold Regions, to be added to hundreds that have left us previous years. Allowing an average of 300 dollars to each—and few will think of commencing a movement towards California with anything less-we can figure up the snug sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars! in cash and its equivalent, taken from Calhoun County alone, this Spring! Is it at all surprising that with these facts existing, there is an universal complaint of "hard times," embarrassments, and scarcity of money?21

In a series of letters to Seth Lewis, William Hammond, who was with one of the Wolverine companies making the trip westward that spring, lists more than two dozen people taking the journey that came from other areas than Calhoun, such as Eaton, Jackson, and Ingham counties.²² In a letter dated September 28, 1852, Hammond lists the persons that had safely arrived from Marshall and vicinity, but in his enumeration he mentions four new companies that had not been men-

¹⁸April 30, 1851.

¹⁹September 10, 1851.

²⁰February 4, 1852. ²¹March 24, 1852.

²²July 14, 1852.

tioned before.²³ Nowhere are the complements of the various organizations given.

By the end of 1854, the gold fever in Marshall and vicinity had gradually subsided. The news of the formation of California companies during the spring of 1853, and that of 1854, is scant. There are isolated items which reveal that the apogee of the search for El Dorado had been reached. That the enticement of gold, combined with the spring season, still lured some individuals westward was natural; however, the stream of 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852 had become but a trickle.

During the spring of 1853 and 1854 a number of the original Wolverine Rangers who had previously returned to Marshall were to leave again for the golden regions of California. Undoubtedly, many took their families with them. The majority went by the overland route in small groups, while various individuals booked passage by way of the Isthmus. There is no way of determining how many desired another chance to accumulate the gold dust or how many had decided to settle permanently in the new western state and take advantage of its climate, land, and business opportunities.

It can be noted, then, that the Gold Rush followed a general pattern. The westward movement obtained its start in Michigan (particularly in Calhoun and neighboring counties) in the spring of 1849, gathered impetus during the two succeeding years, reached its climax in the spring of 1852, and gradually abated in vigor by the end of 1854.

One might suppose that the extensive exodus from Calhoun County during the Gold Rush would have had an adverse effect upon its population growth. Paradoxically, this was not the case. The population of both Marshall and Calhoun county continued to increase during these years. As early as the fall of 1853 the Statesman was boasting that Marshall had had "an increase within the last three years of 910!" and that this figure had not been exceeded by any village in the state. 24 This upward trend in population was due in part to Marshall's position on the Michigan Central Railroad, which undoubtedly accounted for its rapid growth.

²³November 3, 1852.

²⁴December 14, 1853; Washington Gardner, History of Calhoun County, 1:227 (New York, 1913); Michigan Manual, 51, 81 (Lansing, 1857).

By December 27, 1854, there was a general paucity of news from the gold region except for occasional news items and dispatches.

From a study of the files of the Marshall Statesman for the years 1855-58 the waning interest in the search for gold is evident. This might have been due to a number of reasons: that the Marshall Statesman after four years of publishing California articles had decided that the Gold Rush had lost its news appeal; that the Statesman was chiefly concerned with problems of more immediate political importance. such as the organization and strengthening of the Republican party, that its rival paper, the Democratic Expounder, took over the interest in the gold exodus; that the average person's enthusiasm, spirit, and desire to go to California had actually subsided by the end of 1854. The last-named reason offers the most satisfactory explanation. Individuals continued to go West-from Michigan and the other states of the Union-but not in the vast numbers of the early years of the discovery; it is a fact that gold seekers continued to flow into California for many years-up to and through the 1860's.25 Yet, those who were smitten by the lure of gold went early when the stakes were high and the pickings good.

The articles carried by the *Statesman* during the period 1855-58 possessed a different savor. Under the title of "Later (or Further) from California" general news of events in California was printed, but nowhere was specific mention made to members of the original Wolverine companies. Occasionally, a news item appeared giving an account of the marriage or death of a former Marshall resident.²⁶

During these years the tone of the California news appearing in the pages of the *Statesman* disclosed a new character. Extracts were printed which gave evidence of the agricultural potentialities and climatic supremacy of California. The underlying theme was that of the advantages of permanent settlement in the new western state. The Marshall *Statesman* in its issue of April 2, 1856, republished a letter that had appeared in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* stating "that California is now more prosperous than ever. Her agricultural prospects are excellent, and her exports of wheat will this year be very large." Yet, the importance of gold was by no means diminished, for

²⁵Frederic L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier (1763-1893), 376 (Chicago, 1924).

²⁶February 20, 1856.

the article went on to say that those "best qualified to judge, estimate the yield of gold in 1856 at \$60,000,000. . . ." In the same issue another extract appeared under the title of "The Weather in California." This was an account from a gentleman in California dated February 26:

Your severe winter forms quite a contrast to our general climate. We have not had a particle of ice for near two months, and not unfrequently we sit with windows up full height. For a week we have done this, in the open air the thermometer ranged about 64 the other day. The mountain and hill sides are covered with green grass, and the fields already smile as yours do with April sun and showers.

It was apparent that in California at this time a great deal of interest had shifted to the gold of her wheat fields, although the value and attraction of her gold mines cannot be underestimated. For example, the *Statesman* of December 16, 1857, reprinted President James Buchanan's message to Congress in which he revealed "that four hundred millions of gold from California had flowed in upon us within the last eight years, and (that) the tide still continues to flow..." Nevertheless, it was low tide for California news appearing in the Marshall *Statesman*.

Although the data obtained from a perusal of the files of the Marshall Statesman for the decade, 1848-58, is not conclusive, a fairly accurate idea of the role played by Michigan in the westward movement can be obtained. The accounts presented by this small-town newspaper reveal the hardships endured and the adventurous spirit exhibited by the Forty-Niners. That some met with disappointment and others enjoyed success was to be expected. The story unfolded between the pages of the Marshall newspaper depicts the Gold Rush as experienced by numerous former residents of the village.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and George Eliot

James D. Rust

THE NAME OF HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT IS FAMILIAR to everyone interested in Michigan history, for his contribution to the Hiawatha legend and his history of Indian culture made him one of the state's most famous adopted sons. Probably even more people are familiar with the name of George Eliot, whose Silas Marner has been for generations perhaps the most widely studied novel in American schools. Very few, however, know that their paths once crossed, that as critic for the Westminster Review George Eliot was instrumental in introducing to the nineteenth-century British public the volumes on which Schoolcraft's fame rests. Though her background of immense and varied reading is well known among her biographers and critics, no previous attempt has been made to study her activities as a reviewer; hence this interesting contact with one of Michigan's most widely known men has never come to notice. But before considering her reviews of his books, it might be well to rehearse very briefly the careers of these two interesting people.

After a boyhood in Albany County, New York, Schoolcraft made his first visit to the Middle West in 1817-18 when he visited Missouri and Arkansas to study the lead mines. His book A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri (1819) brought him to the attention of officials in Washington, who appointed him staff geologist and mineralogist for the expedition led by General Lewis Cass, governor of the Michigan Territory, in 1820, to discover the headwaters of the Mississippi. Because of low water and a shortage of provisions the expedition was forced to turn back before reaching the ultimate source. In 1821 Schoolcraft published his Narrative Journal of Travels through the Northwestern Regions of the United States. His long residence in Michigan began in 1822, for he was in that year appointed agent for Indian affairs on the northwestern frontiers with headquarters at Sault Ste. Marie.

In this capacity he traveled throughout Michigan, northern Wisconsin, and Minnesota studying Indian life and collecting geological and mineralogical data. In 1832 he was the leader of the exploring party which finally discovered the true source of the "Father of Waters" in the remote lake which he named Itasca from the last two syllables of *veritas* and the first syllable of *caput*, Latin for "true head." Schoolcraft published his account of this expedition in 1834. He became superintendent of Indian affairs for Michigan in 1836, a post which he held for five years. During this time he negotiated with the Indians the important treaty of March 28, 1836, which secured for Michigan the northern third of the lower peninsula and the eastern half of the upper.

Perhaps of less historical importance, but still significant as showing the varied interests of this versatile man, is the fact that in 1828 he was one of the founders of the Historical Society of Michigan and in 1832 of the Algic Society of Detroit. He also served as a member of the Legislative Council of the Michigan Territory from 1827 to 1831 and was a regent of the University of Michigan from 1837 to 1841. He left Michigan in the latter year and never returned for residence after his trip to Europe in 1842, spending the rest of his life in New York and Washington, D.C. Here, though invalided with paralysis and rheumatism, he served as special agent for the Department of Indian Affairs and worked indefatigably on the book on which today his reputation principally depends, *Information respecting the History*, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, (1851-57). He died December 10, 1864.

While Schoolcraft was exploring the forests of the American Midwest, Mary Ann Evans, who was to appear before the world as George Eliot, was growing up in the English Midlands, in Warwickshire. From 1851 to 1854, the future author of Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss, Silas Marner, and Middlemarch was the first woman editor of an important periodical in the history of English journalism when she worked as assistant editor of the Westminster Review. Even after her resignation, however, she continued to contribute reviews and articles until her career as a creative artist began in 1857. The Westminster, founded in 1824 by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill to propagate their political, economic, and social views, had quickly become one of the foremost British periodicals. It presented distin-

guished articles from the pens of the two Mills, James, the father, and John Stuart, the more famous son; Jeremy Bentham, the retiring philosopher who left such an indelible impression on nineteenth—and twentieth—century thought; Thomas Carlyle, later to be one of the great men of the age; George Grote, the classical historian; and other writers of more or less liberal views.

After 1836, however, the Westminster fell upon evil days and following various vicissitudes was acquired in 1850 by John Chapman, who was its owner, publisher, and editor until his death in 1894. He hoped to make it once again one of the great British periodicals, the organ of the most advanced views in religion and politics, and for a few years, with the help of George Eliot, he succeeded. One new feature of the revived Westminster Review was a section called "Contemporary Literature" which differed from the review sections of other journals in that it attempted to consider all the significant publications of the current quarter not only in England, but also in America, France, and Germany. It was in this portion of the Review that most of George Eliot's early writing appeared, and it was here that she introduced Schoolcraft to the British public.

Two of her reviews of the American's works appeared in July, 1852. The second part of Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States had recently arrived in England and it fell to the lot of George Eliot to read and criticize it. She was much impressed-both with the material which it contained and with the physical appearance of the book itself. "Here," she said, "is a volume of which the American press may well be proud, and upon which even an Englishman, familiar as he is with royal quartos and imperial folios, cannot look without astonishment and delight."1 Though there is something of condescension in this, yet there is much more of appreciation. Her review opened with a comment on the condition and number of Indians, revealing the belief held by many contemporary Englishmen and other Europeans that the race was practically extinct. Stories had reached Europe of the decimation of the American Indians by mistreatment, starvation, and massacre, and George Eliot seemed surprised and gratified to learn of the measures taken by the government for Indian welfare.

¹Westminster Review, 58:274 (July, 1852).

saying that "the Indian tribes have always been objects of interest and solicitude both to the people and government of America, as much so as the Highland tribes of Scotland have been to ourselves." After a description of the book's contents and a word of praise for Seth Eastman's illustrations, the reviewer returned to a discussion of the numbers and condition of the American Indians. She summarized Schoolcraft's remarks on the rate of and reasons for the decline of the Indian population and said in conclusion:

We are impressed, however, with a thorough conviction of the justice and humanity of the course pursued toward them by the American government. Their decline is the natural result of their savagism, aided, in recent times, by the immense sums of money paid to them for lands, to which they had after all so little claim. It is encouraging, at the same time, to be able to add that the civilizing operations set on foot in 1824 have been highly successful. "The Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Muscogees or Creeks, are the living monuments of rescued nations, who are destined to take their places in the family of man." In these cases it was the acquisition of property which first loosened the bonds of barbarism:—Mammon has some claim to consideration as an agent of civilization!

It is worth noting that the views here expressed are exactly those of Schoolcraft himself, who set forth vigorously in his "Introductory Document" his opinion that the reason for the decline in the Indian population was not the brutality of American policy, but the nomadic life led by the savages, their persistence in living by hunting instead of by agriculture or industry, and also the annuities given them by the government, which encouraged them in idleness and dissipation.

At this period of our history, the nation was becoming conscious of the injustices done to the red man in times past and was taking more interest in Indian affairs. There had been some comment in the foreign press concerning the treatment by the United States of its copper-colored wards, and this book by Schoolcraft was the most important of several attempts to explain and justify American Indian policy. One cannot escape the impression that a principal reason for the production of Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, was

²Westminster Review, 58:274.

⁸Westminster Review, 58:275.

an uneasiness of the government, a desire to vindicate its and the people's actions against the criticism of the rest of the world, to set at ease an aching national conscience. Another result of this feeling was the decision in 1849 to move the control of Indian affairs from the War Department to the Interior Department, where the policy of liquidation was carried out by nonmilitary but equally effective means.⁴

This review is followed immediately by one of Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: with Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812—A.D. 1842 (1851). In two or three sentences George Eliot indicates the nature of the book for her readers and quotes a paragraph in which Schoolcraft describes the times embraced by his book and the rather desultory and formless nature of his memoirs.

Somewhat more than a year later, in October, 1853, George Eliot encountered another of Schoolcraft's works. This was a revision of his first book, A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri, first published in 1819, now reissued under the title Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas (1853). She was interested in it as a journal of adventure in territory which, at the time of her writing, was much changed by the advance of civilization. But, she said,

a higher interest connected with this narrative is Mr. Schoolcraft's careful and original tracing of the track of De Soto and the Spanish Cavaliers west of the Mississippi. Its highest interest lies, however, in the naturalist spirit that pervades it, in the passing notices of the geology and mineralogy

⁴Schoolcraft's position in this matter may be made clear by two quotations. In his "Introductory Document" to part 2 he says, "the colonial history of the most humane nations does not furnish a body of treaties, laws, and public acts, to protect an aboriginal people, which have been pursued, through every adverse mutation, so perseveringly and successfully." [Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, part 2:ix (Philadelphia, 1852).] It is also worth pointing out that Schoolcraft was not a mere apologist for the Department of Indian Affairs. He realized the darker side of the picture as few men did. In the "Introductory Document" to part 1 of Information, etc. he says, "But justice to every period of our history, colonial and sovereign, requires it to be shown that the great duties of humanity have not been constantly performed towards them; that their possessory right to the soil has not been at all times fully acknowledged, and that their capacities for improvement and knowledge have not been attempted to be elicited in every way, and unceasingly cultivated and appealed to." [Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, part 1:vi (Philadelphia, 1851)].

of the district traversed, and in the appendix on the mines of the Missouri.⁵ She also mentioned that parts of Schoolcraft's original book of 1819—the more adventurous parts—had been incorporated in a *Collection of Voyages and Travels* published by Sir Richard Phillips in 1821.

These three hitherto-unnoticed reviews possess considerable interest as proof of Schoolcraft's widespread reputation as a traveler and scientist. They are perhaps even more significant because they show that one of the great figures of nineteenth century English literature had more than a passing acquaintance with Indian history and culture and was aware of the efforts made to pacify and civilize the aboriginal Americans. Among her reviews for the Westminster Review were criticisms of many other American books. And it is perhaps such works as these of Schoolcraft, with their evidence of American humanity and charitableness, their pictures of the great forests, and their stories of exploration and adventure that caused her to write in a letter of February 1, 1853,

I am converted to a profound interest in the history, the laws, the social and religious phases of North America, and long for some knowledge of them.

Is it not cheering to think of the youthfulness of this little planet, and the immensely greater youthfulness of our race upon it?—to think that the higher moral tendencies of human nature are yet only in their germ? I feel this more thoroughly when I think of the great Western Continent, with its infant cities, its huge uncleared forests, and its unamalgamated races.⁶

⁵Westminster Review, 60:608-9 (October, 1853). ⁶J. W. Cross, George Eliot's Life, 1:303-4 (Edinburgh and London, 1885).

Frederic: A Typical Logging Village in the Twilight of the Lumbering Era, 1912-18

Ferris E. Lewis

[Continued from the Issue of June, 1949]

EXCEPT FOR AN OCCASIONAL IMPROMPTU CHARIVARI, life at Frederic was usually very calm. Seldom would anything unusual happen to disturb the quiet of the community. Once in a while some of the lumberjacks would get into an argument and blacken one another's eyes or cut each other with knives or beer bottles. Those brawls generally were confined to the "jacks" themselves. The townspeople were never mixed in their affairs nor they in the affairs of the town.

Fires were always something to be feared in any small village in those days. There was no fire department. Whenever a fire was discovered someone ran through the village yelling, "Fire! Fire!" Everyone ran to the blaze with buckets and axes. While some of those present carried everything movable that could be reached handily outside, others dashed water on the blaze—if they could get close enough to do so. All water had to be pumped by hand and carried from the nearest pump. It was scarce to start with. Much of it was spilled and little reached the fire. If a fire had any start, it usually finished a building in spite of all attempts to stop it. The usual reward for all this effort was to save the foundation—that is, if the building was fortunate enough to have had one in the first place.

A fire at night was a pretty thing to watch providing it was not one's own home and furniture which furnished fuel for the blaze.

Three mills, one after the other, had been built in Frederic and each in turn had been destroyed by fire—a common ending for sawmills and sawmill towns. Such an affair was not only a spectacle to the village but also a tragedy for it meant the taking away of the income of the people that worked there. The last mill at Frederic, a heading-mill, disappeared during these years. After the destruction of this mill, no longer would the logs go rolling from the flatcars to splash into the millpond. No longer would the huge saw at the entrance of the mill sing out as it cut into a log. Mornings would be still, for there

would be no whistle any more to arouse the workers; no later afternoon whistle to announce the end of one more workday. There were not enough logs left near by to warrant building another mill. The millworkers moved away to follow the mills. The mill houses burned down or were moved away after the destruction of the sawmill. A ravenous little monster had been destroyed and nature sat quietly about hiding the scenes of its gluttony. Grass from the plain crept in to hide its charred remains, and creeping vines crawled slowly over the smoke-smeared cement foundations, a few of which still remain.

Silence settled over the river valley. The mill, like so many others in similar lumbering villages, had been reduced to a set of ledger books and a miscellanea of memories.

All the children of the village went to school in a schoolhouse which was located where the new, present brick building now stands. The old building was painted white and consisted of four rooms with an open hallway down the middle in which was a stairway that led to the second floor. Over the central doorway was a square belfry in which hung the familiar bell.

One room held the entire high school. The three other rooms had the various grades divided between them. Each morning the school bell would ring at 8:30 a.m., one half hour before school began for the day. Another ringing of the bell at 9:00 a.m. would call the students in from the playground to begin their work. To those who were once familiar with the sound of the school bell there is something sentimentally fascinating in its memory and to those of us who lived in those days comes a feeling that the modern generation is missing something.

The first fifteen minutes of each morning were spent in what were then known as opening exercises. At this time all necessary announcements were made. The remainder of this time was spent in practicing a few school yells, listening to quotations from memory gems, and in group singing from "Pat's Pick," the favorite songbook that had been compiled by Henry R. Pattengill, onetime state superintendent of public instruction. "Pat's Pick" contained songs of an inspirational and patriotic nature, songs for holidays, and songs extolling Civil War heroes. In it also were found jingle songs, such as "The Fair" and

"The King of the Cannibal Islands," which very much pleased the younger children.

It has been said that the age of a person can be fairly well determined by the songs he sings. Members of that school generation learned in the opening exercises to sing many of the tunes they know today. For many it was their only chance to sing.

In those days there was little in the way of intertown athletic contests. About the only intertown sport were the basketball games that were played between the various towns up and down the railroad. The players always took the train to the neighboring towns for the games. The school basketball team practiced in what was then the old town hall or opera house. About all that was had in the way of equipment was a basketball. The players wore something that resembled regulation suits. Showers were unknown.

The local team had an advantage over the players of the visiting team because on the basketball court at Frederic there were two posts that helped support the roof. These posts were made out of cast-iron pipe about six inches in diameter. When the members of the visiting team spied the two posts between the center and each end of the basketball floor, they knew right away that they were going to be seriously handicapped in their movements for they would always have to be careful so that they would not run into one of the posts.

West of where the road now runs through the town there stood an octagonal bandstand between the road and the depot. By 1912 the village band had played its last blue note. The town by then had been completely "de-horned" except for one family which owned a slide trombone. But the bandstand made a wonderful place for boys to play, drunks to sleep, and on some occasions, such as Armistice Day in 1918, it provided an unusual platform for the speakers of the occasion.

Phonographs were beginning to appear in a few homes. The older models used tubular rolls but the newer ones used the flat disc. All were wound by hand. From these came music played by Sousa's band and such other selections as "Uncle Josh and the Billiken" and "I'm Afraid to Go Home in the Dark."

When winter came, it usually settled down in earnest and deep white snow covered the entire area. All automobiles disappeared from the roads and whatever communication was carried on was done by means of horses, on foot, or by telephone. All roads became practically blocked unless they ran to some lumber camp or into the farming community. Even these roads might be impassable for days. The first horses to pass after a storm would have to wallow in the snow up to their bellies in order to get through.

On the railroads huge snowplows, called "jumbos" or Russell plows, pushed by one and sometimes two engines, kept the track open just as they do today. But there were no highway snowplows; in fact, plowing the snow was looked upon as almost useless unless you had some power like a railroad engine to push the snow.

The town owned two rollers. One was a small one and could be drawn by one team of horses. After a snow storm this roller would be pulled up and down the sidewalks and the snow would be packed hard enough for people to walk upon it. The larger roller was pulled by two or three teams of horses and was used to pack the snow on the roads. This kept the snow from piling up in large drifts and worked fairly well during the winter time. But by spring the packed snow had turned to ice. Consequently the roads and sidewalks were the last to thaw. Since they stood higher than the ground on either side, they became impassable. There was always danger that a horse would break through the ice and injure a foot. Rather than let this occur, drivers would use the dirt road, which usually ran beside the gravel road, until the ice had completely melted from the highway.

Winter meant feather beds, extra blankets, warmed soapstones or flatirons (to warm the aged in their sleep), long, heavy, ankle and wrist-length woolen underwear (some bright vermillion in color), high top shoes, turtle-neck sweaters (that were pulled on over boys' heads), bright-colored, checkered mackinaws, extra woolen stockings (that itched the wearer for the first two weeks), mittens, and wool skullcap that was pulled on the head and, in cold weather, was pulled down over the ears.

There was no water supply other than the hand pumps, and, before winter time, these had to be fixed so that the water would run back down the pipe, otherwise a pipe would freeze and break. One of the first jobs on a cold wintry morning was to thaw out the water pail and take some of the water out to the pump, prime it and get a fresh supply of water.

The only likeness to controlled heating then used was the old-fashioned, hard-coal stove. Only a few permanent residents had these. Someone had to get out of bed in the morning, quickly put on heavy clothes, and then build a fire in the wood stove with a splash of kerosene on dry kindling brought in for that purpose the previous evening. Before long the chill was taken from at least some parts of some rooms.

Later from the kitchen would come the appetizing odor of sourmilk pancakes, bacon, and eggs, frying in spiders or iron griddles. The pancakes were later eaten with butter, bacon grease, or pure maple syrup.

In those days all merchandise came by train as freight or express. It was usually packed in wooden boxes. Cardboard cartons for shipping, such as are generally used today, were just beginning to appear. Breakable goods were carefully packed in excelsior. The excelsior, broken boxes, and crates made fine kindling wood for starting a fire. In fact, there were so many boxes they were often burned in a bonfire to get rid of them. Today boxes made of such material are scarce, expensive, and seldom seen.

In every yard was a large pile of stovewood for winter use. Large chunks fed the heating stove while split wood was used in the kitchen range. These large kitchen ranges not only did the family cooking and baking but furnished heat. Baked goods could be had only if baked at home. Pies, cakes, cookies, and bread came from these huge, warm ovens.

A new day for the women was dawning. When bread baked in Bay City began to come in a special red breadbox each day by train, the days of breadmaking for most of the women within easy shopping distance of the stores was ended. Bread took its place among the other commodities at the local stores and soon began to be pinched by the ladies to see if it were fresh.

On these large, black, kitchen ranges all water was heated for dishes, the family washing, and all other purposes. Washings were done in large galvanized tubs. The clothes were rubbed by hand on rough washboards. This was a task which was not only hard on the hands but on the back. When washed the clothes were wrung through hand-turned wringers that were clamped to the sides of the tubs. Ironing was done with heavy, cast-iron, flatirons that were heated on

top of the kitchen stove. During the winter months the heat from these kitchen ranges increased the comfort of the house but during the warm summer the heat from the stove of a busy kitchen became so unbearable that some homes used oil stoves for cooking.

Cutting the ever-needed supply of wood, and carrying it in to the wood box or carrying in from a shed scuttles of coal, were daily tasks whose labor and monotony can hardly be appreciated by this generation so accustomed to automatic controlled heating.

Winter brought the snow and cold. A great white blanket settled over everything and stayed till spring. For the lumberjack, it meant better weather for lumbering. For the section hands on the railroad, instead of riding to work on the hand-pumped handcar, it meant hours and hours of shoveling the snow around the depot until the snow piles stood higher than a man's head. For the farmer, it meant fewer and fewer trips to town. For the hunter, it meant tracking game in the snow. During the deer season many bucks could be seen piled on top of the baggage trucks at the depot. For the boys and girls, it meant skating on the millpond, skiing, and sliding down hill on sleds, bobsleds, or toboggans.

Recreation rooms, scout troops, directed recreational activities, moving pictures, and the like were unknown. Boys and girls provided their own recreation, even to making most of the bobsleds and skiis they used for sliding down hill.

Dressed plentifully in woolens, with sled in tow loaded with a supply of firewood, the young folks on a winter evening came to join those of the party already on the hill. With a good blazing fire to warm their hands and feet, a clear, cool night with abundant snow, and sparkling stars overhead, the stage was set for an evening of fun.

Christmas was a day anticipated by boys and girls just as it is today. Santa's pack did not bulge as bulkily as it does now, but his arrival was awaited with as much childish enthusiasm. It was far more sensible for him to use a chimney in those days of stoves than it is today in an age of stokers and oil or gas burners. And surely Santa's sled, sleigh bells, and reindeer were more understood and less mysterious than they are today.

The only transportation during the long, cold winter was furnished by bobsleds and cutters. A few farmers still had sleigh bells that looped around a horse's belly and jingled when the horse walked or ran. 1950

This jingling sound on a cold, clear, snowy night was part of the Christmas setting.

As the joyous day approached, catalogues and local stocks (as well as the means of purchase), were carefully scrutinized for wind-up trains and other toys for the boys and handsomely dressed dolls for the girls. There were fur caps and huge mittens for father and painted dishes or perhaps a new dress for mother. There were toboggans, skiis and skates in the catalogue, but seldom were these things considered important enough to be purchased. A few sleds with flexible runners were beginning to appear and replace the older, still, rounded-bottom runner sleds of father's day. Ice skates were usually the kind that were clamped onto heavy, high-top shoes. Bright red drums with real leather heads, tin horns, mouth organs, and jew's-harps added to the spirit of the holiday and furnished noise for little boys.

Just before Christmas the young folks who, like those today, wanted a Christmas tree, cut one in the woods and dragged it back to town. The only Christmas tree standards were those that were made at home.

Once the tree was set up, it was trimmed in the fashion of the day. Popcorn was cheap and plentiful. With a large needle and long string from the grocery store, the large, white, exploded kernels were strung into long strings and festooned from branch to branch of the tree. With candied syrup that turned brittle, popcorn balls, like huge white or golden snowballs, were made. These were hung on the trees as modern glass ornaments are. Long strings of silver or gold tinsel were strung from branch to branch. Christmas tree candles, about six inches long and in various colors, were placed in candleholders that were then clipped to the outer branches so that needles would not catch the dry tree on fire from the flame. When the time came for the Christmas presents to be distributed, the candles were lighted. Once a year on Christmas Eve, the children saw the glory of a candle-lit Christmas tree. But the pleasure was a dangerous one, for fire from the burning candles on the tree was a constant hazard.

Santa came on Christmas Eve and left varied amounts in the little stockings, hung with childish hope on the spiked backs of light, straight chairs, which had been placed carefully near the chimney so Santa would not be delayed—or perchance fail to find the worn stocking of the little owner. Strangely the candy and gum were the

same as that which the children had been eyeing in the candy cases of the local stores: chocolate thimbles; creamy, colored fudge; long, black crinkly sticks of licorice; circular, flat, white or pink peppermint or spearment candy; or thick sticks of fruit gum. Such was the only candy these children knew. They were pleased that Santa had the latest recipes and that he had left as much as he had. Oranges, too, they found and perhaps a banana. Mixed with the candy, fruit, and gum were sometimes nuts of various kinds. Some had been gathered in the woods the previous fall, but a few strange, hard ones like a niggertoe confused the minds of the children and confirmed their belief in the invisible St. Nick whose gifts often were as lavish as their father's credit at the local store would permit.

Christmas day brought the customary Christmas dinner. Poultry, long carefully fed and watched, met decapitation with woodsman's axe on chopping block. These were not frozen birds shipped in from far away and purchased from the meat market. These birds had been waiting around the yard all summer and fall for the big day to arrive. Once killed, the birds were thoroughly scalded in a huge pail or tub of boiling water. Then they were carefully picked, drawn, and stuffed with rich dressing. Should the fowl be a goose, its breast feathers were usually saved for pillows or feather ticks. On Christmas morning the huge bird was pushed in the oven of the kitchen range and began its roasting as the womenfolk finished the last of the baking. Mince pie, fresh bread, stewed cranberries, and boiled potatoes from the family garden went to make up the Christmas dinner.

Local traffic was never a problem. In the summertime a few automobiles could be seen. During the rest of the year, traffic was confined to horse-drawn vehicles, wagon; or sleighs.

Several people kept a cow to furnish milk for the family. These cattle were allowed to run at large as they are today in Crawford County. Usually the cows came home at milking time, but at other times they failed to show up at all. This meant that someone, usually a boy, had to go in search of the cow. Sometimes it took hours to bring her home.

The families that did not have a cow secured their milk from Mr. Samuel Smalley, the faithful milkman, who lived about two miles south of the town near the Au Sable River. Each day he came to town with the local milk supply. His old white horse, with a big left hind

leg, was as faithful to Mr. Smalley as Mr. Smalley was to his local milk route.

Jim Tobin, now owner of a store at Frederic, was at that time the drayman. With his horse and wagon he did whatever hauling the village needed. His bay horse and new green wagon could often be seen at the depot.

Persons going north and south usually took the trains. But travelers wishing to go to the towns to the east or west, or to one of the logging camps, or to the new fishing camps along the rivers, usually turned to Norman Fisher, who ran the livery. During the summer months Mr. Fisher used his Model T Ford, but during the winter his horse-drawn cutter furnished the only means of local livery service.

The only method of illumination was by kerosene lamps. Every home had from one to several of these lamps, depending upon the family, the size of the home, and the expected duration of residence. The churches, the school, the saloons, and the stores were lighted by several of these lamps scattered about in a rather haphazard fashion. Some lamps hung with their bases sunk in round metal bands that were fastened to metal strips which were notched so that they would slip securely down over a nailhead and hang from the wall. Between these lamps and the wall was a sunburst silvered tin reflector that threw back into the room the rays of the lamp so that they would not be lost by striking the deadening surface of the wall. There was a quaint softness about the light of these lamps which gives rise to memories of many pleasurable affairs.

At public meetings, such lighting was not hard on the eyes if one just sat and listened. A speaker, however, needed to have a lamp close by him if he were to read a quotation or from his notes. As I remember it, oratory was louder in those days than at present. Perhaps this was necessary to offset the drowsiness that came over one as he rested and quietly mused in the glow of the softly burning lamps. This lassitude must have been due to the lamplight, for surely no one could otherwise become drowsy in the stiff, straight chairs found at that time in public places.

One wonders today if these lamps did not provide more work than light. The tall, bulging chimneys were forever dirty, and the lamps always needed filling with kerosene. Fortunately, kerosene was plentiful and cheap and newspapers, which came daily were plentiful.

Newspapers provided an excellent convenience for drying and polishing a cleanly washed lamp chimney.

Large household matches were the standard means of lighting the kerosene lamps. After being used, especially in public places, matches were often carelessly discarded upon the floor. Their presence underfoot added to the untidyness of a room and created a hazard for those who stepped upon them.

Few kerosene lamps burned as they should have. Usually there was at least one fiery red flame that reached upward farther than the rest. To tame its upward aspiration, the whole flame had to be reduced with a proportionate loss of light. Other lamps burned higher at each side of the wick and shot two glowing horns upward. When one was in church on Sunday evening, one wondered if Satan himself had entered the sanctuary, when one saw his diabolical work appearing in long, black, sooty smudges streaking upward on the glass chimney.

There was always the danger of fire from the kerosene lamps. Before the turn of the century, when kerosene had not yet been standardized, many lamps exploded, and serious injuries and fires resulted. If the lamps were set on a table, there was always the danger of their being tipped over. Climbing children might knock them over. Sometimes clothing caught on fire, and children were seriously burned. Tablecloths and curtains were always a fire hazard. If lamps were placed too high, the ascending heat from their chimneys often scorched beams or ceilings and sometimes started fires.

Lamps came in various colors, shapes, and sizes. All attempts at variety, however, did not increase the illumination, even though they did add a touch of style to many living rooms or parlors. But they were the best lighting device there was to be had. Many of the older people regarded kerosene lamps as a great achievement in the progressing age of science and a marvelous improvement over the tallow candles of their early childhood. By them the people knit, read, watched over the sick, and did their evening household tasks. By their feeble yellow glow, children played or studied their lessons for the next day at school. They were perfectly adapted to the art of casting long or huge weird, peculiar shadows throughout a room. This kind of home entertainment by lamplight provided an ideal setting for many an evening story of local folklore about the days when the lumberjack and the jack-pine settler first moved into the majestic,

silent forest, only a few years before, and killed off all the "side hill lancers" and "hodags."

Anyone who ventured far from home at night usually carried a lantern. Its swinging glow, as it was carried along, made huge shadows dance back and forth within the ever-diminishing brilliance of its circle of light. Flashlights had appeared but, though they provided an element of safety from fire, their beams were too confined for such tasks as feeding and harnessing a horse or milking a cow.

By lantern light the teamster left the bunkhouse of the logging camp on a cold winter morning and made his way to the horse barn. By lantern light the farmer did his morning and evening chores. By lantern light or starlight the lumberjack walked back to camp. By lantern light the village doctor drove off into the country on a hasty call. Sometimes, aided by its feeble glow, he hunted in his medicine case for pills and powders, or set a broken bone, or brought a newborn baby into a humble cabin. Placed carefully under a robe in a cutter, a lantern provided warmth to the traveler on a cold and blustery winter night.

About 1914 my father bought a small electric-light plant large enough to generate electricity for his house and store, which were built together as one building. This was the only light plant in town. It furnished lights only during the evening while the gasoline motor was running.

Summer days were happy days for the young folks, for they were carefree days with no school and miles and miles of natural forest, stream, and cutover land in which to play.

Soon after school was out, in early July, the huckleberries became ripe. It was one of the major tasks of the young people to pick a goodly supply of berries for the coming winter. Pail after pail of huckleberries was carried into town each day. Later the raspberries, that grew in rank profusion among the slashings and burned-over areas, began to ripen. They were gathered for jam, jelly, and to can. Raspberry picking for young people, however, was rather discouraging work. The berries seemed to settle to the bottom of the pail faster than they could be put in at the top. About the time that school had started in the fall, the blackberries began to ripen. All during the summer the young people had been quietly locating their own private patches of berries

hidden deep in the woods. When they ripened, what a scurrying there was to be the first picker in the patch. It was fun to pick blackberries, for they counted up fast and one's pails were soon full.

During the berry season people from Grayling came by train each morning. With pails and baskets of lunch, they disappeared into the woods for the day. With all containers filled, they would gather at the depot at five o'clock in the afternoon ready to take the train home.

Bathing in those days was done in a galvanized laundry tub in the kitchen on Saturday nights or else in the old swimming hole. The only toilet facilities stood outside the houses and were unheated even in winter. During the hot, long summer days, the young people experienced a strong desire to swim. In the heat of a summer afternoon, the younger ones could be seen, bundle under arm, trudging along the short-cut road that ran to the Au Sable River a half mile below the town. Older folks declined the pleasure or pleaded work to do, for the Au Sable runs clear and spring cold. Only children would want sufficiently to swim in its clear, cold water to get in. Older boys and girls who could swim well enough swam above the dam in the warmer water near the hot pond where steam from the mill warmed the river water. The more daring dove into the surging water where it spilled from the apron below the dam.

To the youth of Frederic, regular bathing suits were unknown. Only one or two had something that resembled a bathing suit. The boys used old pants and shirts and the girls used old dresses and sundry other accessories. Theirs were not two-piece suits as are those of today. The girls were well covered from head to foot.

The locker-room was nature's bush. Each sex had its own hidden bough-flanked sanctuary where everyday clothes were exchanged for swimming apparel. Sometimes on returning from the water, one found his clothes tied securely in well-soaked knots. Such was the humor of the day.

Fishing for trout in the Au Sable was another pastime enjoyed by young and old. Fancy poles and tackle were for the sportsmen who were beginning to appear on the Manistee and Au Sable rivers; they were not used by the local people. Nor were waders used. When any of the local people wanted to wade the streams they just walked in as they were, waded as far as they wished, then walked out and home.

The hot, dry days of summer always held the threat of roaring forest fires. Forest fires in those days were just a part of summer. Though most of the area had been burned over many times before, it always seemed to have the makings of another fire. Stumps would burn as each fire passed, then char black and go out to await the coming of the next fire.

In those days there were many tall, dead, pine tree trunks standing in the cutover areas where the pine had once possessed the land. They had perhaps been dead trees when the lumbermen came. As they had no commercial value, the lumbermen passed them by. Today they all have fallen down, but at that time they made, as it were, tall candles of fire as they burned at night. The tongues of fire creeping upward along the aged trunks made a weird, glaring, grandiose spectacle as they sent up against the evening sky great billows of pitch-black smoke.

Sometimes during the day it would be possible to count the smoke from half a dozen fires burning in the splashings of the cutover areas around the town. At night their ascending flares cast a red glow along the circle of the horizon. If the fires got too close, some attempt was made to check their progress; but usually they burned on entirely out of control until the next rain came. So large were these fires at times, the air was blue from the drifting smoke and people's eyes would smart from the irritation.

Sunday was Sunday, even in the small, forgotten towns of the northland, such as Frederic. For most people in these little communities, the chief characteristic of Sunday seemed to be the cessation of all regular work. However, some semblance of religious worship was usually maintained.

At Frederic every other Sunday, weather permitting, a Catholic service was held in the little, white Catholic church by a priest from the Catholic church at Grayling.

As was usual in all lumbering communities, Methodists were to be found. But, like the Catholics, they were not present in sufficient numbers to warrant a resident minister. Nevertheless, religious instruction was not to be denied the children of Methodists, for there lived in Frederic Mrs. Andrew Brown, a devout Christian woman. Each Sunday morning, with her four children, she went to the little Meth-

odist Episcopal church, which looked more like a little one-room schoolhouse than it did like a church. Weather made no difference to her. It was Sunday and there should be, and there was, Sunday school for the boys and girls. Mrs. Brown was janitor, superintendent, organist, teacher—a faithful servant of her Lord. The little, old pump organ wheezed out the age-old familiar hymns of the protestant church. There was no directed group singing. Everyone just sang. When the Sunday school was over each person left carrying the usual youth paper.

There was also another church, the Methodist Protestant. No Sunday morning services were held in this church at that time. However, on Sunday evening its loud bell announced to the sleepy little village that the evening service was about to begin, that is, if anyone were present beside the local minister, the Rev. William Terhune, who with his wife also took care of heating and cleaning the local school-house.

At other times the slow, steady tolling of this bell announced to the people of the village that one of their members had passed away. Two or three days later, the old, black, horse-drawn hearse, followed by a few buggies, automobiles, and people on foot, would crunch along the gravel road to the cemetery.

Such was life just thirty-five years ago in Frederic. The village was a typical lumbering community of the period. It differed only in local detail from dozens of other lumbering communities in the upstate area.

Today the old, four-roomed, white schoolhouse is gone and a new one of brick replaces it. Fire took it and the opera house with its stage curtain showing advertisements twenty years old. The Methodist church has been torn down. The Catholic church has been cut in two and made into two houses. The forests that were left have been cut and burned. Lightning struck the depot and it burned. Tracks of the Detroit and Charlevoix Railroad have been torn up and the old railroad bed has been claimed by growing trees. Many of the people who walked in the streets in the years 1912 to 1918 have long been gone. Few are they, of those that were in the Frederic of which I write, that today remain.

But others have come to take their places. New houses and tourist cabins have been built. Cottages and cabins now stand on near-by lakes and streams. During the summer months, a steady stream of traffic rushes through the village on good highways. People go north to play and rest in nature's forest playground.

Meanwhile, on the quiet hills and sandy plains for miles around, nature has gone quietly to work. New trees are growing to replace the once majestic wilderness whose destruction brought the lumbering towns into being. Slowly but steadily nature is healing the wounds caused by the boisterous lumberjacks' saw and ax, and by fire.

A new life has come to the old frontier.

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[Concluded]

Why a Kalamazoo County Historical Society?

Willis F. Dunbar

PERMIT ME TO SAY THAT I AM HONORED BY THE INVITATION extended to me by the officers of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society to be your speaker at the first annual meeting of our society.1 All of us have been immensely gratified, and, may I say, a little surprised at the interest shown by so many people in the formation of an historical society for our county. It is a rather strange fact that as we have been compelled to concern ourselves more and more with foreign affairs during the past decade, our curiosity about ourselves, our traditions, and our character as a people, has become deeper and stronger. Back in the days beyond recall when we felt perfectly secure from foreign assault, we took our heritage for granted. Now that we know that we face a very genuine challenge in the years ahead to the continuance of the American way, we have come to appreciate it more and we have felt a desire to know it better. Perhaps that is one reason there has been such a fine response to this organization, so that at this, our first annual meeting, we can boast of having more than one hundred and fifty members.

Probably most of us have not stopped to analyze very carefully our desire to have a Kalamazoo County Historical Society formed and to become a member of it. Somehow we liked the idea and were interested enough, at least, to pay the annual dues. Heaven knows there are enough clubs and societies these days without another being added to the list unless it has a purpose. In order to sustain the initial enthusiasm that has been demonstrated, there must be sound objectives to the attainment of which our energies can be directed. For this reason I have chosen tonight to share with you my own thoughts on the subject "Why a Kalamazoo County Historical Society?"

Each of us has a distinctive personal reason for becoming a member of the society. We hope to pool these common personal interests in local history through the society. That certainly constitutes one excellent reason for bringing it into being. Some of us have an urge

¹This address was delivered at Kalamazoo before the first annual meeting of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society on the evening of May 2, 1949. Ed.

for collecting, either for our private libraries or for our public museums and libraries. Some of us are business or professional people, who are just plain curious about our community's past. We enjoy reading history and studying it. We like to conduct a bit of investigation now and then on some subject that happens to strike our fancy. Others among us have teaching positions in the field of history and hope that the society may provide us with materials and resources suitable for instructional purposes. And there are those in our number who are writers and speakers in quest of ideas and information. These all add up to good reasons for organizing and maintaining our society.

But I believe it is appropriate at this, our first annual meeting, to inquire how our society may be of use not only to ourselves but also to the communities whose life we share. Let me hasten to assure you that I am not suggesting that we become a service club in the usual sense of that term. There are quite enough clubs trying to uplift people and reform society. I hope we do not get tangled up in a maze of committees, and if someone will make a motion that we have no committees at all, I am willing to second it instantly. But I do believe that there ought to be a purpose for our society over and above the pleasure or profit that it may afford us as individual members.

That is to say that the fruits of historical study and research may be socially useful, and that applies as much to local as to national and world history. Almost anyone would agree with that statement in a general way, but might be hard put to give a logical set of reasons for such agreement. There is a widely held belief that history repeats itself, and that if you can dig up some situation in the past roughly parallel to a current problem you can learn something from it. Historical parallels are immensely intriguing. But those of us who have studied and pondered on history know that human society never precisely reproduces the same set of circumstances, as the chemist can do in his laboratory. There always are variants to throw off your calculations. It is a common stratagem of propagandists to select from history some incident suitable to their uses and then tell the world that history teaches us so and so. And generally it isn't so at all.

The social usefulness of history, as I comprehend it, comes from the fact that human institutions and human affairs as they are now can be understood only by knowing the sources from which they came. Progress in the future certainly depends in large measure on understanding

the assets and liabilities at the close of business May 2, 1949, and how it came about that these assets and liabilities are on the books. Being a rather normal person, or at least one not too acutely conscious of my abnormalities. I never have had occasion to visit a psychiatrist. But I have been told that these practitioners launch their efforts to help a patient by inducing him to reveal his past experiences. This is a rather protracted undertaking, but when it is finished the psychiatrist has a pretty good idea why his patient is ill. And in the process, the patient himself, through this self-revelation, better understands his own troubles and can then do things, under the direction of the psychiatrist, that will help him get well. The same kind of therapy is the only one that can help a sick society. Human society, however, being much older than any of its members, cannot reveal its past by word of mouth. It must be revealed through records, monuments, and other things that men have left behind them. The teacher, the writer, the speaker, the journalist, or the statesman by disseminating historical data can help a sick society understand itself and thus aid it to return to health and growth.

The psychiatrist, if I may return to him a moment, may not be able to effect a cure by the process I have indicated. He may find something organically wrong with his patient, something that will require medical or surgical treatment. That, too, applies, I feel, to society. I am not one who believes, for example, that all our difficulties would be solved if we understood the Russians and they understood us. Nor do I believe that many other problems in human affairs today would be instantly resolved if we understood their roots. But it would help. It would help us isolate the real trouble and get at it. It would enable us to determine more clearly and accurately just what action ought to be taken.

We have been talking so far in rather general terms about history. We need now to get back to our own special kind of history—local history. I presume we would not want to characterize the society of Kalamazoo County today as a sick society, although after better than a century of life, it may have developed a few sore spots. The life of societies being much longer than that of individuals, there is no reason we should visualize the society of Kalamazoo County as a doddering old fellow on the brink of the grave. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that he is still young and vigorous. He has actually

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grown in size very substantially during the last ten years, so he must be in his late teens as human beings go. If he is to enjoy a long and useful life, he needs to understand himself, his potentialities, his resources, his environment.

It seems to me that our historical society can make a substantial contribution to that end. But in order for it to do so, it is important that we direct its efforts to that objective. For it seems to me that the one signal weakness of historical scholarship today is its lack of purpose. How are thesis subjects chosen by candidates for the doctorate in history at our great universities? The student is apt to be influenced largely by the interests of a favorite professor. Or he may select a certain subject because someone has run on to a batch of manuscripts that can be used. Or the basis of selection may be a sort of romantic aura surrounding some period in our history, such as the magnolia and mint-julep ante-bellum period of American history. It is all hit-or-miss, with little or no reference to whether society needs to have a certain subject investigated. And when the doctorate is duly won and conferred, our young scholar is inclined to pursue the same lines of investigation in his later life.

It may be argued, of course, that it really doesn't make much difference what subject the young scholar selects for his thesis. He is learning how to do historical research and what counts is that he should master the method. When he wins the doctorate, if he continues to interest himself in research, his main concern is to get something published in a reputable journal, it doesn't matter much what, so long as it is accepted as scholarly. He may run on to the diary of a pioneer or the letters of an obscure politician and use these as the raw material of his scholarly work.

The amateur historian usually proceeds in somewhat the same manner. Through some accidental circumstance, he becomes intrigued by the inscription on an old tombstone, or he discovers some ancient account books in a garret, or he is excited by a story he heard from the lips of an old settler. He starts probing for more light on the particular subject that has aroused his interest and he may start collecting materials bearing on that subject. Sooner or later he may wish to write about what he has learned and get it published or make a speech about it before a civic club. It constitutes a fascinating hobby and it has decided advantages over playing bridge or collecting stamps. But it is the sheer-

est accident if the historical findings and writings that emerge from this kind of endeavor have any great social usefulness. And it is almost equally accidental if the writings of professional historians on subjects determined in the way I have described are of any value in helping us to understand our world, our nation, or our community any better.

It seems to me if history is to serve a useful purpose, beyond providing a means for advancement to the professional or a medium of relaxation and pleasure to the amateur, the selection of subjects for investigation and research should be determined by other than accidental circumstances. We need to go beyond what we can conveniently investigate or what we are inclined to investigate to what needs to be investigated.

There was a time when research in the physical and natural sciences was conducted along much the same lines that historical research is proceeding today. It was curiosity about some physical or natural phenomenon that motivated the scientist. It was regarded as vulgar to pay any attention to the possible usefulness of a given line of investigation. Of course curiosity and the lure of the unknown remains a great driving force in scientific research. But that curiosity, by and large, is directed towards objectives which may prove to be useful. Here in our city the Upjohn Company sponsors vast projects in medical research with a definite objective in mind. Hundreds of scientists are devoting their time to cancer research. Large numbers are constantly working to produce better plants and animals. Others are devising means to combat insects or plant diseases. During the war, scientists pooled their knowledge and skill to produce a deadly bomb. Many hundreds of scientists are working to perfect television. Of course there are still scientists that are working on problems unrelated to utility, and, as we all know, it happens sometimes that what seems to be useless turns out to be very useful. But the vast majority of scientists at work in our land today are engaged in projects designed to produce useful results. We do not wait for some accidental discovery to turn up a means of checking the ravages of cancer. Scientists address themselves to this particular purpose in cancer research centers located in various parts of the country.

Nothing comparable to this is done in the field of history. But I believe we shall sooner or later come to it. It is a subject of frequent comment that our knowledge of human relations has lagged far behind our knowledge of physical and natural phenomena. We all recognize

that this is one major factor in the troubles of our times. There are a number of reasons for this, but I submit that one of them is the failure of historians to live up to their social responsibilities. The understanding of human relationships can be gained only through the study of history. As I said earlier, understanding is not the whole solution, but it is a good part of the solution. There are many kinds of human relations: those between workers and employers, between nation and nation, between different races and different creeds, and so on. The number and variety of subjects for historical investigation are almost infinite. There ought to be some rhyme and reason in the process of selection.

Assuredly there should be sufficient resources of knowledge in our great universities to determine what areas of human relationships society most needs to have studied. The selection of research subjects should rest on something more substantial than the likes and dislikes of professors and the convenience of sources of information. The political scientist, the economist, the sociologist, and others confronted with the great enigmas of man's relations with man should say to the historian: we desperately need the benefit of past human experience in this field or that.

Of course it needn't be at all a complicated process. Most historians are quite aware of the great problems the world is facing today and can guide, if they will, the young scholar into fields of investigation that may yield socially useful results. This involves, I think, being somewhat less reticent than historians have been in studying recent history. Recent history in many ways is more difficult to investigate and understand than is that of a more remote time. But the need is great, because the world these days is moving fast. We have so little knowledge, for example, of the roots of the great depression which started in 1929. We know far too little about the reasons for the failure of the League ot Nations. But there is also a vast store of socially useful historical knowledge in the more remote past. We need to know much more than we do about China's ancient past in order to comprehend her present problems. It seems to me that we would profit immensely from a more thorough study of the process by which the Roman Republic became the Roman Empire, for Rome, like the United States, was reluctantly drawn into world power.

What I am contending for is simply that historical research be directed into fields chosen because they seem to bear promise of yielding up facts and understandings that will help us build more intelligently the world of tomorrow.

Let us now leave the university and return to Kalamazoo County and our own historical society. What I have been saying in regard to the larger problems of mankind applies as well to the problems of a community like Kalamazoo County. I presume that our society will, in the years ahead, collect a great many manuscripts and objects, and will publish a great many articles and even books that will not contribute much to any socially useful purpose. That is inevitable. But I hope that what we collect and what we publish will not be entirely accidental. We are the historians of the community. It seems to me that we have a responsibility to pay some heed to the subjects that need to be investigated.

How can we tell what needs to be investigated? There are many ways. There are many industries in our city which have no knowledge of how they grew. I have had an occasion in my work to visit a great many of them, and it is truly surprising how few have any systematic record of their origin and growth. I know of several that I believe would be ready and willing to provide funds to have their history compiled and written. I submit that this indicates a need.

There is no adequate history of our public schools in Kalamazoo, and our superintendent of schools, Dr. Loy Norris, has told me that he feels the need of such a history. He feels that the school board might possibly be willing to subsidize such a study.

A while ago I spent a couple of hours with Dr. Earl Fraser, who is directing the city planning study. In thinking of the future, he needs to know how Kalamazoo has grown. I am sure he would agree that he has very inadequate information on several phases of that subject. Why were our streets laid out as they are? How did it happen that industrial plants are located where they are? How did it happen that the slum areas in Kalamazoo developed where they did and as they did?

We pride ourselves in Kalamazoo on our city government. Those who lived here three decades ago can remember the birth pangs of our city commission form of government. But the younger generation doesn't know much about it. There is no place where you can find a clear and authoritative account of the exciting and important years when the commission-manager form of government was born.

All of us are conscious of the threat to our American way of life posed by the enemies of individual enterprise. The way to meet that threat is not by attacks on communism so much as by promoting understanding of what our way of life has produced and can produce in the way of a good life. How much do the school children of Kalamazoo know about the men right here in Kalamazoo who had ideas, put those ideas to work, and produced jobs for thousands of people. A. M. Todd, Dr. W. E. Upjohn, Jacob Kindelberger, L. W. Sutherland, Orville Gibson—there are many more. Where will you find any book or pamphlet that tells that story? And it needs to be told.

Over the years there has grown up in our community a network of social agencies, health and welfare agencies, and recreational facilities. How were these conceived and how did they develop? The answer to that would involve a difficult search by the reference librarian and her sources would not be adequate.

In the county outside the city of Kalamazoo, there are equally abundant opportunities for useful historical projects. To cite one or two examples: where could you find any study of lodges and fraternal orders and their effect on the society of towns and villages? How would you go about it to get some idea of the impact of the weekly newspapers of Kalamazoo County on the life of the people? How has the character of the town meeting changed down through the years?

I could go on, but I think these examples will suffice to show what I mean by historical investigations that need to be carried out and the results published and disseminated. In many cases I am confident that financial support could be obtained for such projects.

Will our historical society concern itself with such needed investigations or will it be only a means of collecting and publishing those materials which its members happen to be interested in? It is nice to have the diary of Uncle Joe Doakes, who came here in 1833, in the museum, and perhaps some of Uncle Joe's descendents might, out of family pride, be willing to pay us to publish his diary, with certain prudent deletions. I would not object to placing in our museum some arrowheads dug up along Portage Creek, or a timetable of the Chicago, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw Railroad for 1908. But, along with these interesting materials, I hope we can dig up some things that will help

us to build a better Kalamazoo for tomorrow. The architect of today sees beauty in that which is functional. He hasn't much respect for the aesthetic values of what used to be called "ornamental." If a building perfectly serves the purpose for which it was intended, it has inherent beauty. Just so, the history we discover and write down and tell will be great and will be remembered only if it has function.

Permit me to add one further thought and then I am through. Perhaps the greatest sin of recent American historians is their slight attention to literary skills. They know their facts but they can't tell their story. And they despise those who can tell their story and dub them "popularizers." No history can be socially useful until it is written or told so that ordinary people can understand it. And its usefulness is increased in the degree that it is written or told so as to attract the interest and attention of the reader or listener.

It is my hope that in the years ahead the Kalamazoo County Historical Society may be a source of pleasure to its members. But I also hope that it may live up to its responsibilities to the community, that it will make its contribution to the progress of our common life by investigating and telling well what needs to be studied and told about our past.

Anniversary Observances in Michigan, 1949

MICHIGAN, THE MECCA OF SUMMERTIME TOURISTS, from June to September, was busier than ever during these months in 1949. Newspaper accounts of the governor's personal appearances about the state, sometimes three and four visits in a single day bear evidence of this activity. The profusion of centennials celebrated in Michigan contributed to this hum of activity. Michigan State Normal College celebrated its centennial May 19-21. The first day of the celebration was designated "Community Day," the theme being "The College Today," The special event of the first day's program was a speech by Vice-president Alben W. Barkley. On the same day the new John D. Pierce Hall was dedicated. The second day of the observance was planned as "Alumni Day," the theme being "The College in the Past." Speakers for this day's program and their topics were: Charles W. Hunt, president of the State Teachers College in Oneonta, New York, "The Teachers College in Public Education"; John R. Emens of Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, and an alumnus of the college, "The Contribution of Michigan State Normal College," and Dr. Lee M. Thurston, state superintendent of public instruction, "Our Educational Needs." Also delivering an address was another alumnus of the college, Dr. Charles C. Colby of the University of Chicago. In the evening the college music department presented Hayden's oratorio, "The Creation." The third day was designated as "Inaugural Day." Its program was built around the inaugural of Dr. Eugene C. Elliott as president of the college.

On June 15 Jamestown and the township of Jamestown, Ottawa County, celebrated the centennial of their organization at Spring Grove Park. The Old Settlers Association of Jamestown formerly held their annual picnics in this pleasant spot. They had urged the township to buy the fifteen acre tract of land and develop it as a park. Many of the descendants of the pioneers arrived at the park in long billowing skirts, shawls, bonnets, and long-tailed coats of one hundred years ago. One couple arrived driving a horse hitched to an old buggy, equipped with a whip and a bag of hay and an old lantern tied on back reminiscent of the days when all the people used to come to Old Settlers

picnics in wagons, buggies, fringed surries, two-wheeled carts, carrying baskets of good food. Highlighting the day was the dramatizing of the organizing of the township. The skit was written by Henry Van Noord, Jr. and was based largely upon *The Early History of Jamestown*, 1843-1870 compiled by Pauline Hall Gitchel. During the day a new park shelter house was dedicated and a plaque unveiled which bore the names of those who served in World War II from Jamestown.

Ravenna, located on the banks of Crockery Creek, in Ottawa County, celebrated its centennial August 18-20, 1949. Since early in 1900 the town has held an annual homecoming celebration. The 1949 homecoming celebration was supplemented with an old fiddler contest, a beard contest, and special entertainment to make it a fitting

observance of Ravenna's centennial year.

The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Tecumseh was celebrated by an eight day program beginning Monday, June 27. Coming to Tecumseh for the opening day was Rin Tin Tin, III, the famous Hollywood movie dog, and his trainer Lee Duncan. They were the feature attraction of the Quaker Oats Company's \$20,000 show, "Industry in Action." Each day of the celebration was devoted to a specific theme. "Industrial Day" featured conducted tours of local plants. "Youth Day" brought parades for kiddies and pets. For "Old Timers Day" the Brothers of the Beard from the Port Huron centennial visited in Tecumseh. On "Governor's Day" Governor G. Mennen Williams arrived at noon for a formal luncheon at the country club. One of the centennial's outstanding events was "Canada Day" in celebration of which a thousand citizens of Tecumseh, Ontario, traveled across the border at Detroit. They were accompanied by two bands. At Tecumseh Recreation Field an exchange of flags between the two cities was followed by an address by Gustav LaCasse, federal Canadian senator. A baseball game between the cities concluded organized events for the day. The closing day of the celebration was reserved for homecoming activities which included parades, pageants, concerts, picnics, and reunions. The celebration was officially brought to a close by a brilliant display of fireworks. A souvenir program of the celebration was printed, "Tecumseh's 125 Years of Progress."

Marquette's celebration of its one hundredth anniversary was a real community enterprise. Beginning on January 1, 1949, with open

house at the Marquette County Historical Society Museum, events sponsored by various organizations continued until September. The churches, Northern Michigan College of Education, the city schools, the Chamber of Commerce, and fraternal and service groups all had a share in making the affair a success.

In the business district, windows of stores displayed photographs, letters, maps, paintings, articles of apparel, and household equipment used by pioneers. These heirlooms of Marquette families attracted a great deal of attention from residents and visitors alike.

July 2, 3, and 4 were the big days of the celebration. Among the numerous events, the children's parade on July 2, the Roman Catholic Field Mass and the Protestant Vesper Service on July 3, and the big parade on July 4 with fireworks in the evening, were especially notable. The parade was marked by the large number of marching bands and the variety and beauty of the floats which pictured Marquette's one hundred years of progress.

During the celebration the rooms of the Marquette County Historical Society were open to visitors, and on special occasions Mrs. Carroll Paul, curator, and Miss Ruth Schoonover, assistant, wearing century-old costumes, greeted them and served as guides. The museum is well-worth a visit by everyone interested in the history of the Upper Peninsula.

A handsome brochure entitled *Marquette Centennial* was published as a feature of the celebration. In pictures and text it contains the story of the development of the present city from the landing of Amos R. Harlow on July 6, 1849, to the present. The Marquette *Mining Journal* published 20,000 copies of a centennial edition, the largest issue in its history, one hundred and thirty-two pages.

A sweet little lady of ninety-three was crowned queen of North-port's centennial by Governor G. Mennen Williams, Saturday, July 2. The crowning was followed by a large parade. Sunday was packed with boat races, a ball game, and in the evening a pageant depicting ten scenes from Northport's history. Monday's program was equally interesting: children's games and parades, the demonstration of an air sea rescue by the United States Coast Guard, and inspection of the icebreaker *Mackinaw*. Sherman Hayes orchestra played for dancing each evening during the three-day celebration.

The Port Huron centennial, July 17-23, drew thousands to the Blue Water country. The days were filled with parades, the crowning of the queen, and carnival amusements. Each night "Century of Progress," an historical spectacle, was presented. On Friday night the mouth of the Black River was lined with the tall masts of yachts being readied for the Port Huron-Mackinac races. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the famous sailboat race, considered in nautical circles as the greatest fresh water sailing competition in the world. Saturday afternoon the crowd that had watched the sails disappear up Lake Huron turned to see a two-hour long parade. Visitors came away with memories of a coach with festive occupants, fine kilted bagpipe bands, the marching of an old-time volunteer fire department, and a nostalgic succession of ancient vehicles from covered wagon to bicycles built for two.

Vassar, founded on the banks of the Cass River, celebrated its centennial July 28-31. Former residents of Vassar began returning Thursday, July 28. That afternoon the centennial queen was crowned at a ceremony at the athletic field. The queen was Miss Ula North, one of the three daughters of the city's founder, Townsend North. Parades and a band concert closed that day's activities. Friday's schedule included more parades; prizes awarded for the boy with the most freckles, the girl with the longest pigtails, the oldest married couple; and a centennial costume ball that evening. Saturday evening's big attraction was the Cote Carnival set up on the athletic field. Vassar's centennial closed with church services on Sunday.

Church centennials and anniversaries contributed more busy days and weeks. The Immanuel Lutheran Church of East Ida began the celebration of its centennial year with the dedication of a centennial marker April 24. The marker, a native stone from the land of one of the members of Immanuel Church, is appropriately engraved with the words: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us," which is a free translation of the Hebrew word "Ebenezer." A series of centennial services was held throughout the year. The series was concluded with special services August 21. The history of the church was published in an amply illustrated booklet, A Century of God's Grace.

September 25 the First Lutheran Church of Sutton's Bay began a week's celebration of its seventy-fifth year. Sunday morning services started the diamond jubilee. At noon the congregation gathered for

dinner after which a mass choir sang. When the congregation of the First Lutheran Church gathered for the first time August 24, 1874, Sutton's Bay was a small logging town. Its two mills were busily turning out lumber, cordwood, and hemlock bark. Eight families gathered

to organize and decided to join the Norwegian Synod.

November 13 the members of the Oakfield Methodist Church celebrated the centennial of the organization of their society and the eightieth year since the building of the present church structure. The day was designated as "Harvest Sunday." A quantity of canned fruit and vegetables, collected as a gift to the Clark Home in Grand Rapids. was dedicated at the morning service. The congregation gathered for dinner in the church parlors. The day's celebration closed with a candlelight devotion service.

Michigan's calendar of unusual events, apart from centennials and anniversaries, continues to grow each year. To name only a few, there are: Vermontville's annual Maple Sugar Festival, Traverse City's Cherry Festival, Holland's Tulip Festival, Harbor Springs' Ottawa Indian Naming Ceremony, Charlevoix' annual Venetian Night, Paw Paw's Grape Festival, and Cedar Springs' Red Flannel Festival.

April 9 more than 10,000 persons gathered at Vermontville to officially open the maple sugar season in the state. The governor was on hand to crown the king and queen of the festival, two high school students, Ken Beardslee and Miss Jo Ann Janousek. After a parade free pancakes and syrup were served in the maple syrup festival building bought during the past year by the corporation promoting the annual festival. Sale of maple syrup was reported very good with approximately seven hundred gallons sold at stands along Main Street.

Cedar Springs is Michigan's "Red Flannel Town." November 12 the red flannel again became king. The story behind this festival is an interesting one. The winter of 1936, being an extremely cold one, a feature writer on the New York Sun went on a search for red flannel underwear. He wired Cleveland but found none there. So he concluded that red flannels had passed from the American scene. The new owners of the Cedar Springs Clipper, Grace Hamilton and Nina Babcock, came to the rescue. They broadcast the news that Cedar Springs merchants had red flannels on their shelves and some local people even wore them. Orders poured in to local merchants. Red Flannels are shipped out of Cedar springs each year to all states, England, Scotland, Alaska, and Singapore and the Red Flannel Festival has become an annual event. This year's festival included a parade; horse pulling contests; nail driving, sawing, and husband-calling contests. The Parent-Teacher Association served a lumberjack supper after which Queen Darlene Towns was crowned by Governor Williams. Winding up the day's activities was an old-fashioned dance.

Ask almost anyone about the town of Lowell and he is more than likely to mention the Lowell Showboat. The Showboat sailed again this summer on July 25 for a seven-day show. The idea for the Showboat was conceived during depression days when there was a need to inject some enthusiasm into the downhearted town. Steve Rhue and R. G. Jefferies of the Lowell Ledger came up with an idea. Since the town was divided by the Flat River a showboat could be built. The show from its deck could be seen from both banks of the river. The first boat was constructed on floats made from gasoline drums. Several boats have been built since then. The present one is one hundred feet in length with two smokestacks and a large paddle wheel. The show now is essentially the same as the first. The same end men and the same chorus perform but the specialty acts have each year grown larger and more famous.

This article has been only a spot coverage of Michigan's centennials, anniversaries, and special events. We do not always learn of all centennials, church and business anniversaries, and the new special events which yearly are added to the calendar. In the June, 1950 issue of the magazine we want to print as complete a list of these events as possible in the form of a 1950 calendar. Will your community celebrate a centennial or other anniversary in 1950? What special event does your community sponsor during the year? We shall be glad to print an announcement of it in our calendar for 1950. Keep these coming celebrations in mind: Detroit's Sesquicentennial in 1951, "The Detroit Festival of the Great Lakes"; and in 1955 the centennial celebration of the opening of the Soo locks and the founding of Michigan State College.

K. R.

Michigan News

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN held its seventy-fifth annual meeting in Lansing, October 28 and 29, 1949, with headquarters in the Hotel Olds. Registration began at 10:00 a.m., Friday in the lobby of the Hotel Olds. At noon members of the society met at a joint luncheon with the members of the Lansing Historical Society. Mr. Ralph Crego, mayor of Lansing, greeted members of the two societies. Mr. Seymour H. Person, a former president of the Lansing Society. delivered the luncheon address, "Ingham County's Contribution to History." A young ladies trio from Lansing's Eastern High School sang several popular musical selections. The trustees of the Historical Society met at 2:30 p.m. The society's secretary, Dr. Lewis Beeson, informed the trustees that he had begun negotiations with Mr. Verne Slout of the Slout Shows for a party for members of the society when the Slout theatrical troupe begins its season's tour next spring. It was his suggestion that the members meet in a Michigan town where the Slout players will appear to see one of their old-fashioned melodramas. Along the line of more informal gatherings, Dr. Beeson also proposed that the trustees consider a sugaring off party next spring in the Vermontville region. Both suggestions were enthusiastically approved. Dr. F. Clever Bald presented to the trustees, on behalf of Mr. Emil Lorch. chairman of the society's committee on architecture, a resolution to the following effect:

The Historical Society of Michigan has learned of the gift to the city of Sault Ste. Marie by the Great Lakes Towing Company of the historic John Johnston house now in process of restoration with funds appropriated by the city; looks forward with deep interest to the early completion of this important project; and offers its commendation to the city of Sault Ste. Marie and the Great Lakes Towing Company for their joint efforts in securing the preservation and restoration of this historic structure.

The trustees voted to adopt the resolution. At 4:00 p.m. the members of the society attended a tea given by Michigan State College in the Union Building. Members of the history department and their wives were hosts. Everyone returned to the Hotel Olds at 6:30 p.m. for the annual dinner meeting. The Very Rev. William J. Flanagan, pastor of St. Mary's Cathedral, opened the Historical Society of Michigan's

seventy-fifth dinner meeting with the following excellent invocation:

O God, Father Almighty, Thy creative hand did form this beautiful peninsula which we behold about us. It was sanctified by the steps of the missionaries of Thy divine son. Activated by Thy Holy Spirit, its political founders pledged in solemn ordinance that religion and the means of education would be encouraged within its confines.

Look down, we pray Thee, in Thy mercy upon us. Grant that we, whose efforts are consecrated to the recollection of this State's glorious past, may ever remember our dependence upon Thee. May our labors perpetuate to our fellow citizens the lessons of that dependence. In our material prosperity may we never lose sight of the higher values of days gone by. May we turn them to good account for the religious, social, and economic welfare of our people.

May we keep this commonwealth as spiritually noble as Thou didst create it materially beautiful. Through the same Christ, Our Lord, Amen.

The first three certificates of recognition awarded by the Michigan Historical Commission were awarded following dinner. Dr. James O. Knauss, president of the commission, presented the first certificate to the Honorable John P. Espie, dean of the House of Representatives, for twenty-four years a member of the legislature, eleven of which had been spent as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Dr. R. Clyde Ford presented to Dr. George N. Fuller a certificate in recognition of his more than thirty years service as secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission and his outstanding contribution to the study of Michigan history. A third certificate was presented, in absentum, to Lew Allen Chase in recognition of his service in promoting and popularizing interest in Michigan history. An honorary membership in the Historical Society of Michigan was presented by President Thomas B. Dancey to Governor G. Mennen Williams, guest of honor. Governor Williams in thanking the society for this recognition discussed many of the reasons for which Michigan citizens may be justly proud of their state. Following dinner the ballroom was cleared for square dancing. Governor Williams started the dance off with the calling of several reels. Following dinner there was also a meeting of a group interested in Michigan archaeology to discuss the formation of a state archaeological society.

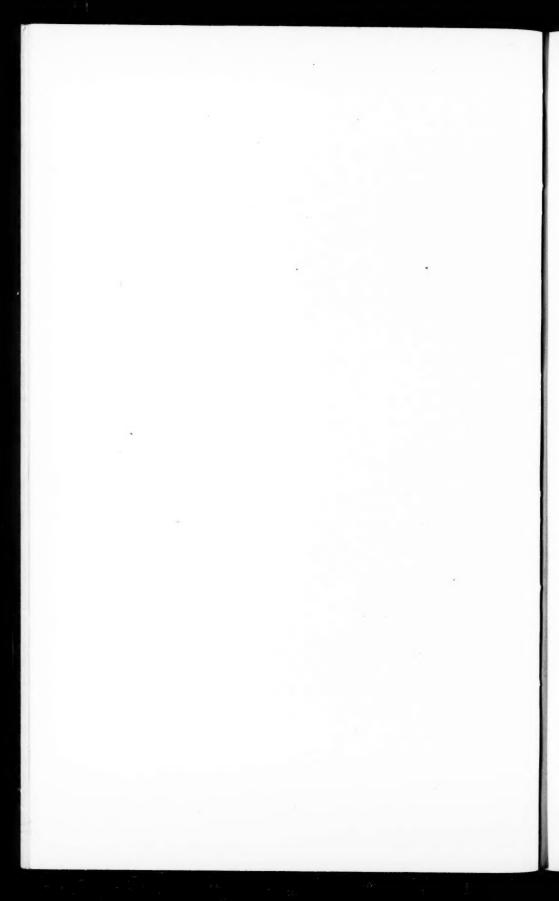
Saturday's activities began at 10:00 a.m. in the House of Representatives Chambers in the State Capitol. This was the appropriate setting for the papers read as it was in the House Chambers of the old Capitol



DR. JAMES O. KNAUSS PRESENTING THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION'S CERTIFICATE TO REPRESENTATIVE JOHN P. ESPIE



PRESIDENT THOMAS B. DANCEY AND GOVERNOR G. MENNEN WILLIAMS AT THE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL DINNER



Building that the Historical Society of Michigan was founded in 1874. The two papers read at this session were Mr. Henry D. Brown's "History of the Early Society" and Mr. Chester W. Ellison's "The Society Since 1874."

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan convened at 3:00 p.m. The reports of the various committees were presented. Dr. Willis F. Dunbar, chairman of the committee on publicity and promotion, reported that his committee had met in Marshall at the time of the local history conference in January, 1949, at which time he had advised Secretary Beeson to appoint a person to take notes of the various meetings of the society in order that adequate news of the society's meetings might be carried by the newspapers. He also reported that Mr. George Stark, Secretary Beeson, and himself had participated in a program before the annual meeting of the West Michigan Tourist Association in Grand Rapids in October. at which time they discussed the use of history in promoting the tourist industry. Mr. Emil Lorch, chairman of the committee on architecture. reported that he had spent three days last summer at Sault Ste. Marie doing research on the John Johnston house and that restoration of that structure was well underway. He said that there was a move at the Soo to restore the Baraga house, and that the Schoolcraft house also should be restored and preserved. Mr. Lorch also made mention of his activities with respect to the restoration of buildings at St. Ignace and on Mackinac Island. His resolution commending the city of Sault Ste. Marie for its part in providing for the restoration of the John Johnston house was presented to the membership for their consideration. It was unanimously adopted. Mr. Lorch continued his report by saying that so far as he knew no historical organization in the past had undertaken the restoration of historic buildings in the state, that this was a serious omission, and that this state should follow the lead of Illinois, Ohio, and the Eastern states in the preservation and restoration of buildings.

Dr. Joe L. Norris, chairman of the committee on bibliography, presented the following report:

The Bibliography Committee of the Historical Society of Michigan has engaged in only one project this year, the annual bibliography of Michigan history. Since I was the sole member of this committee it was impossible to undertake other types of bibliographical work. A bibliography of historical material published in 1948 was prepared from the most obvious sources: booklists, indexes, and actual survey of historical and other periodicals. In this fashion a bibliography of 22 books (or parts of books) and pamphlets; 82 articles in 18 periodicals; and 7 miscellaneous items, which included 2 theses, was prepared. An addenda of 35 items was added to the 1947 bibliography which appeared in the March, 1948 issue of *Michigan History*.

The bibliography was completed and sent to Dr. Beeson in February. Shortly thereafter Dr. Beeson, following the Bibliography Committee's recommendation made arrangements with Mr. Rudolph Gjelsness of the University of Michigan Library School for a student in that school to rework the bibliography. Mr. Russell E. Bidlack was assigned to the project. The bibliography was thus completed and will soon appear in Michigan History.¹

Since most of the items listed can be found in the Burton Historical Collection Mr. Bidlack recommended that future bibliographies be compiled by that institution since the list could be made up as items are received. The Bibliography Committee concurred in the recommendation. Dr. Beeson thereupon asked Mrs. Elleine Stones to have the Burton Historical Collection compile the future annual bibliographies. Mrs. Stones consented.

In the light of the foregoing changes in the preparation of the annual bibliography, the Bibliography Committee makes the following recommendations: The present chairman should be relieved and Mrs. Stones be appointed in his place. The president of the society should enlarge the committee to include librarians in various strategic locations: for example, Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette for Upper Peninsula items; Michigan Historical Collections, Grand Rapids, Port Huron, and other places in the Lower Peninsula. In addition, book dealers such as Mr. Chester Ellison and Mr. Alvin Hamer should also be members of the committee. Such persons could forward to Mrs. Stones bibliographical items as they discover them. The bibliography as finally completed should contain descriptive notes when the title of the entry is not sufficient to describe the article. The bibliography should also contain lists of theses completed during the year, manuscript collections received by various institutions during the year; pictures, maps, and other similar types of miscellaneous publications.

Another suggestion the Bibliography Committee would like to make is that some one fill in the gap existing from 1918 where Floyd Streeter's Michigan Bibliography ends to the present day. Such a project would of necessity have to be a cooperative one or it could be a class project of the Library School of the University of Michigan. If this institution rejects the idea the proposition could be broached to the Library School of the University of Chicago, Columbia, or the University of Illinois. All these universities have outstanding library schools and one of them might find

¹The 1948 Michigan bibliography was published in the December, 1949 issue of *Michigan History*.

such a project a feasible one. It is, therefore, recommended that the new Bibliography Committee inquire into this proposal and report their findings to Dr. Beeson for the society's consideration.

Dr. F. Clever Bald, chairman of the Exhibits Committee, presented the following report to the trustees of the Historical Society:

The Exhibits Committee has been inactive during the year, but the traveling exhibit panels devised by the committee last year have been shown several times. Displaying early maps of Michigan and pictures of Great Lakes ships, they were set up at the Antique and Hobbies Show in Lansing last March and April, and at the Upper Peninsula State Fair in Escanaba last August. Secretary Beeson and Museum Director C. J. Sherman cooperated with the Delta County Historical Society in arranging for the Fair a kitchen of fifty years ago which proved to be a great attraction. Our secretary, as chairman of the committee appointed by the governor, and the museum director were responsible also for the exhibit of material from the French Merci car at Escanaba.

Again this year Mrs. Ellen Hathaway of Highland Park was in charge of the program of exhibiting and judging school projects related to the history of Michigan. At the summer conference of the society at St. Mary's Camp, seventeen schools had entries. First place was awarded to Bloomfield Hills School; second to the Campau School, Detroit; third to Durfee Intermediate, Detroit; and Hosner Rural School, Oakland County; and honorable mention to the schools of Swartz Creek and Monroe; Ionia Junior High School; Rose Corners Rural School, Oakland County; and Detroit Post Intermediate.

Dr. Madison Kuhn, chairman of the committee on constitution and by-laws, presented the following constitutional amendment proposed by the trustees at their meeting, July 10, at St. Marys Lake Camp:

The membership of history clubs in elementary and high schools and in other organizations may become, through their adviser, junior members of the Historical Society of Michigan. They shall be known as junior historians. They shall not be entitled to vote or hold office in the Society.

The amendment was adopted. The society voted to support the organization of a state archaeological society whose formation had been discussed the evening before. The annual election of officers followed. Newly elected trustees are: Mrs. Norman Johnson of Flint; Mr. Chester W. Ellison of Lansing; Mr. Floyd L. Haight, chairman of the Dearborn Historical Commission; Mr. Alexis Praus, director of the Kalamazoo Museum; and Mr. Richard F. O'Dell, Northern Michigan College of Education, Marquette. The board of trustees for 1949-50, meeting that evening at dinner, elected Dr. Rolland H. Maybee, presi-

dent; Mrs. Donald E. Adams, vice-president; and Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary-treasurer. The trustees voted to fix the dues for the junior membership in the society at twenty-five cents a year. Dr. Maybee suggested that his committee on research and publication and the society as a whole adopt as their theme for the coming year, "Michigan in Mid-Century."

"MICHIGAN ON CANVAS," the collection of ninety-six original paintings sponsored by the J. L. Hudson Company, has been placed on permanent exhibition in the Edison Institute Museum, Greenfield Village, Dearborn. The collection of paintings depicting present-day life in Michigan had its premiere showing in February, 1948. Its out-of-state tour opened with a showing in the rotunda and corridors of the State Capitol and included a full summer's stay on Mackinac Island and exhibition at Michigan's Centennial State Fair. "Michigan on Canvas" was seen by approximately 1,250,000 people in thirty Michigan communities. In placing the collection on permanent exhibition in the Edison Institute Museum, officials of the J. L. Hudson Company hope that additional thousands of people may see the paintings, Michigan residents as well as visitors to the state.

FLINT'S INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE is sponsoring a program of teaching local history, through audio-visual aids, to immigrants in English and citizenship classes. Mrs. Allen Pohley, who is in charge of this program, finds her adult pupils deeply interested in the changes in the way of life from Indian and pioneer days to the industrial present in Flint. The purpose of this program is to give the new arrivals a better understanding of their community, state, and nation. Another interesting item from Flint concerns the Flint branch of the American Association for University Women. Mrs. Harold Manley, chairman of its Children's Museum Committee, reports considerable progress in obtaining artifacts representing Indian and pioneer life for traveling exhibits to be used in Flint schools. The Genesee County Historical and Museum Society and its curator, Mr. Charles Barber, are cooperating with the A.A.U.W. committee on this project.

IN THE SPRING OF 1947 COLONEL MARK L. IRELAND, began the compilation of a Chesaning centennial history. Chesaning celebrated its centennial in 1941. Colonel Ireland's research is divided into three

parts. He is making a study of the preserved records in Chesaning; Saginaw County; Owosso, Corunna, and Flint; and in Michigan depositories such as the Burton Historical Collection, the Michigan State Library, and the Detroit Public Library. His second source of information has been the files of the Chesaning Argus whose publication was begun in 1877; village, township, church, cemetery, and school records; and family records and scrapbooks. For the thirty-six year span before the publication of the Argus and the next nine years before it covered local news well, Colonel Ireland is using his third source of information, federal records in Washington. The records he is using there include the Indian affairs records on the Chesaning (Big Rock) Indian Reservation, public land records, military and pension records of Chesaning soldiers and sailors serving in all of the wars since the Revolutionary War, post office records, and census records.

At the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Burlington, Vermont, September 14, 1949, the Detroit Historical Society was voted an award of merit. The award of merit and its accompanying citation was formally presented to Mr. Henry D. Brown, director of the society, by Mr. Colton Storm, assistant director of the William L. Clements Library representing the American Association for State and Local History, November 10. The citation to the Detroit Society reads: "For the unusual vigor with which the Detroit Historical Society has been revived; for its descriptive and illustrated bulletins; its special exhibits; and for the distinctive methods used in encouraging an interest in the history of Detroit which has increased attendance, excited the interest of the schools and made it a living force in the community."

In commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the German writer Goethe, Wayne University participated in a city-wide "Goethe Bi-Centennial Program" during the month of November with public musical programs and exhibits. Detroit's observance was under the auspices of a citizen's committee of one hundred leading Detroiters with Kurt Keydal as chairman.

A radio broadcast by the Wayne University Symphony Orchestra November 10, 1949, opened the city-wide celebration. Valter Poole, orchestra leader, chose for the program Beethoven's "Egmont Overture," inspired by Goethe's play Egmont; and Berlioz's operatic num-

bers "Dance of the Sylphs" and "RaKoczy March" inspired by Goethe's play Faust.

An exhibition of more than one hundred and fifty "German Paintings and Drawings from the Time of Goethe," organized from American collections by Dr. Ernst Scheyer, associate professor of art at Wayne, opened at the Detroit Institute of Art, November 14. Throughout the month a collection of Goethe books and manuscripts were exhibited by the Wayne University library.

THE MICHIGAN LOCAL AND FAMILY HISTORY SECTION of the State Library has for distribution a special pioneer record form. The compilation of these forms will produce Michigan's Pioneer Record, an invaluable research tool. The form asks the name of the pioneer. where he settled in Michigan, the date of his birth, death, and marriage. The same information is asked for his parents, his children, and his wife and her parents. Requests for blanks have already come from descendants of Michigan pioneers still living in Michigan and as far away as New York and New Jersey. Other libraries have asked for blanks to distribute to their patrons who have inquired about them. Library trustees in many communities have undertaken to distribute the forms to people in the community whom they know to have pioneer records. Dr. Kate Lamb of Mason keeps a supply in her office to offer patients and friends. One school librarian asked for blanks to distribute to students in a Michigan local history class in her school. Mrs. Vivian Lyon Moore, Hillsdale County historian, undertook the compilation of the pioneer records for that county. From her own notes she filled out library forms for those pioneers of Hillsdale County whose records are not in print elsewhere. She had the handwritten forms bound and presented this copy to the State Library. Pioneer forms will be mailed upon request to Mrs. Esther Loughin, Michigan Local and Family History section, Michigan State Library, Lansing, 13.

THE FIRST FALL MEETING OF THE ALGONQUIN CLUB was held October 7, 1949, in the Norton-Palmer Hotel, Windsor. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of intercultural interests between our neighboring nations, with special emphasis on historical interests. This discussion arose because a legacy of \$1,000 was recently bequeathed to the Detroit Historical Society. It was the donor's wish that the De-

troit Historical Society formulate a program to advance intercultural relations between Western Ontario and Michigan, and the Detroit area. Members of the Algonquin Club come from both sides of the border. The results of the discussion were submitted to the Detroit Historical Society to assist in developing such a program. Folklore was the topic for discussion at the club's meeting November 4. Mr. Norman R. Williams discussed "Collecting Michigan Fact and Folklore." Mr. Williams' avocation for many years has been the collection of Michigan folklore.

THE MUSEUM OF THE DEARBORN HISTORICAL COMMISSION has its first curator. Mr. Abraham Feldman was appointed to that position December 1, 1949. The commission's museum has been housed in a part of the commandant's headquarters of the old Detroit Arsenal since July, 1949. The Dearborn Historical Commission and the Dearborn Historical Society lead the fight which was waged in Dearborn for more than a year to preserve this structure which is the only building remaining of the Detroit Arsenal. January 5 the Dearborn Historical Commission and Historical Society welcomed Mr. and Mrs. Feldman with a reception in the museum. The reception was attended by more than one hundred members and friends of the Dearborn Historical Society. Mr. Feldman comes to Dearborn from Temple University where he had taught since September, 1947. Previous to that he was on the faculty of the University of Maryland. For four years he served as editor of state and county archives with the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, a WPA project.

The Detroit Historical Society for its fall meeting November 29, 1949, presented an "American Indian evening"—his culture, language, music, and art. A demonstration was given of his basic musical instruments and sign language. Recordings of ceremonial chants were played. Chief Maza Kinyan (flying iron), a full-blooded Dakotah, was the society's guest. He graduated in music from the Ithaca Conservatory and in engineering from Cornell University. Under his English name, Norman Ewing, he is a successful refrigeration and air conditioning engineer. His avocation is the study of Indian history and culture.

THE HIAWATHA LAND FINNISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY got off to an excellent start on Sunday, June 26, 1949, at the Ironwood High School.

The meeting was an all day affair, with a program in the morning, a full afternoon of discussion, and a Finnish play presented in the evening. The Hiawatha Land Society is being organized on a regional rather than a county basis. For this first general meeting representatives came from northern Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula. Plans were made for collecting pioneer history of Finnish immigrants throughout this area. Architectural designs for an archive, and approximate costs, were presented to the group. The success of this undertaking will depend upon the cooperation of all groups, societies, and churches, and the voluntary service of individuals in every community. The details of this plan of collecting and preserving local and family history have proved successful in Finland for many years. Members of the Hiawatha Land Finnish Historical Society have made recent visits to Finland to study these methods and are anxious to prove their efficacy in Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

RACING HORSES AND HORSE RACING that made history and helped spread the fame of Kalamazoo was the very interesting subject of Mr. Leon Miller's talk presented for members of the Kalamazoo County Historical Society when they met November 14, 1949, at the People's Church. Mr. Miller has been a horse fan for many years. He has made an extensive collection of records and histories of horses. The formation of the archaeological section of the Kalamazoo Society has been greeted with great enthusiasm. The programs they have planned are appropriate for stimulating further interest in that field. On October 2 the members of the archaeological section went on a Fort St. Joseph field trip. The group met in Niles where they first visited the Fort St. Joseph Historical Museum for an examination of its collection of Fort St. Joseph material. Then they proceeded to an examination of the site of the old fort. When this group met on December 15 they were shown "Shell Mounds in the Tennessee Valley," a documentary film showing excavations in an area now permanently covered by backwaters of the Pickwick Basin dam in the Tennessee Valley. The film, issued by the Tennessee Valley Authority, shows the exploratory digging done before water covered the site. A short explanatory talk was given by Alexis A. Praus, executive secretary of the society.

Mr. Bert Roff, executive secretary of the Michigan State Waterways Commission, spoke to members of the Marine Historical Society of Detroit when they met in the conference room of the Detroit News, October 9, 1949. In his talk on "Small Harbors" he discussed Michigan's program for providing safe harbors for small craft all along our state's shoreline. The society's program for November 9 featured an illustrated talk by Mr. Howard Vair. The movies he showed were taken aboard the cruise ships, Hamonic and Noronic. Dr. R. Murray Muir, a member of the Marine Society, was furnished with a timely subject for his talk December 14. Since the Muir Shipyard will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary in 1950 he chose to speak on, "A Century of Progress in Lake Shipping, and the Part Taken in It by the Muir Brothers' Shipyard." He illustrated his talk with some of his collection of charts and historical papers.

The Marquette County Historical Society held its annual meeting Thursday evening, December 8, 1949, in the assembly room of the Peter White Public Library, Marquette. The speaker of the evening, Mr. R. A. Brotherton of Negaunee, described the "Early Logging Days," the years from 1869 to 1898 when Michigan was the nation's number one producer of lumber. Mr. Brotherton's talk was illustrated with a number of interesting slides. That evening Mr. R. K. Richards of Negaunee was re-elected president of the society. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Carroll Paul, first vice-president and curator; Carl Brewer, second vice-president; Kenyon Boyter, third vice president; Ray Brotherton, fourth vice-president; L. R. Walker, treasurer; Harry B. Ebersole, recording secretary; and John E. Keast, corresponding secretary.

The Monroe County Junior Historical Society, under the direction of Mrs. Mildred McMichael, is the first group of junior historians to become members of the Historical Society of Michigan. The Monroe junior group has been eagerly awaiting provision to be made for a junior membership in the state society. At the annual meeting October 29, 1949, the members of the state society voted to amend the constitution to provide for this junior membership. Mrs. McMichael, in a recent report on her group said, "My group in Monroe will send dues early in the coming year, as we pay into our treasury in January. That will align us with the state organization for 1950." The

Monroe group has a very interesting program planned for 1949-50. Their mimeographed program is bright yellow and green. The November meeting was well attended. Miss Gertrude Golden told of her work among the Indians in the United States. She was a teacher in Indian schools for seventeen years, working in seven states including Michigan. Miss Golden has given the Monroe junior historians her collections of pictures and school essays. They will mount and file them. The December meeting was a Christmas tea for the mothers of the members and several specially invited guests. Marjorie McIntyre read the Christmas chapter from Little Women and told how the holidays were celebrated in the very early days of Frenchtown. The December count of the membership of Monroe's junior society is thirty-seven members, ranging from the eighth through the twelfth grades.

WHEN THE MASON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY MET November 1. 1949, in the Ludington Public Library Mr. Arnold O. Carlson spoke to the members on the geological formation of Mason County. Mr. Carlson showed two appropriate films. He gave an excellent description of the glacier period when all of Canada, much of the northern part of the United States, Greenland, and half of Europe was covered with ice and presented many interesting facts about the geology of the county. The society voted at this meeting to sponsor a scholarship to be awarded the Mason County school pupil producing the most outstanding history project during the year. This may be in the form of an essay. The president, Miss Pearl G. Surrarrer, appointed a committee to work out the details of the project. The society's meeting, December 6, was built around a 1887 map recently found in the old Greenwald home in Ludington. A special invitation to this meeting was extended to those residents of Ludington having old maps, pictures, and other information on early Ludington.

THE MUSKEGON COUNTY MUSEUM has been reopened. New exhibits have been installed. The museum has a large collection of log-marks and logging tools, and a Douglas Malloch Memorial Room which displays personal effects of the poet. Miss Elizabeth K. Wathen is the museum's director.

THE WASHTENAW HISTORICAL SOCIETY met October 28, 1949, at 8:00 p.m. in the Rackham Amphitheatre. Their speaker was Ralph

S. Gerganoff, architect for the proposed new Washtenaw County building.

The Saginaw Museum issued its first monthly *Bulletin* November, 1949. Its purpose is "to present informally what is happening at the museum." It is the museum's hope to remove some of the characteristic stiffness of a museum "by going behind the scenes and by speaking frankly of our problems. The launching of a new museum is not exactly an easy undertaking and we hope not to conceal our troubles under a haze of rosy optimism in subsequent issues of this bulletin." The *Bulletin* will carry announcements and descriptions of exhibitions and news and notice of the various classes offered by the museum.

THE SECOND PRINTING OF FIVE THOUSAND COPIES of This Is Michigan was delivered by the printers November 15, 1949. The first printing of ten thousand copies was exhausted some weeks before. The pamphlet has been in great demand since its publication was first announced. This Is Michigan not only answered the need in the Historical Commission's office for a brief outline of Michigan's history but it has been a boon to other state offices that receive requests from Michigan residents for "material on Michigan." The commission has supplied This Is Michigan in quantity to the department of public instruction, the executive office, and the secretary of state. The commission has supplied school superintendents with enough pamphlets for their faculties and has answered individual requests from teenagers, college students, teachers, and men and women whose hobby is becoming better acquainted with Michigan history. Also available for free distribution are the two mimeographed handbooks prepared by the Historical Society of Michigan's committee on research and publication at their St. Marys Lake Camp Conference last summer. These are Henry D. Brown's "What a Historical Society Should Do" and Karl F. Zeisler's "Your Community Writes Its History." Address requests for these publications to the Michigan Historical Commission, 621 State Office Building, Lansing, 13.

"MICHIGAN'S SOO LOCKS CENTENNIAL" in the July 26, 1949 Weekly Bulletin of the Michigan Society of Architects gives an excellent account of preparations being made for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the Soo Locks in 1955. The members of the federal and state commission in whose hands responsi-

bility for the celebration lies are named. Their plans are previewed. An interesting outline of the lock's history is provided: the construction of the locks, the tons of freight which have passed through them, and their vital role in the winning of World War II.

DR. BERTHA SELMON'S SERIES OF ARTICLES on medical women in Michigan was concluded in the September, 1949 issue of the Medical Woman's Journal. When Dr. Selmon died in January, 1949, her secretary, Mrs. Pearl Bliss Cox, using her notes, completed the series. Dr. Selmon's early professional work was done in China. Most of her historical research was done in Battle Creek. Her research on Michigan's medical women was begun well in advance of similar work in other states. These papers are deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor. Other of Dr. Selmon's papers are deposited with the library of the Philadelphia Women's Medical College. A four part biography of Dr. Selmon, written by Mrs. Florence Hazzard of Ann Arbor, was begun in the August, 1949 issue of the Medical Woman's Journal.

"The LumberJacks were a very good bunch of Men, rough and ready, yet most of them were known to be kind and willing to help anyone in need of assistance." The Lansing State Journal's Sunday edition is carrying a feature on "Early Lumbering Days," Dan Carey's reminiscences of Michigan's lumberjacks. The first article appearing in the Journal on December 4, 1949, was illustrated with several informal shots of Mr. Carey. Michigan History in its issue for September, 1948, carried a short story of Scott Gerrish by Mr. Carey.

The October, 1949 issue of Ontario History carried two articles of interest to Michigan historians. The first, "Pioneers of the Scotch settlement on the Shore of Lake St. Clair," by Malcolm Wallace is a comprehensive study of this early settlement which was a veritable island in the midst of the French Canadian and Irish Catholic population of North Essex. The study is full of names and incidents of interest to any student of Detroit history. The second article, G. H. Needler's "Champlain's Route with the Huron War Party in 1615," is a short and critical essay which disputes certain points made by earlier writers on Champlain.

American Indians that lived near the ocean or the Great Lakes obtained much of their food supply from these waters. The shells which remained they used as cups and dishes. Broken shells were strung on strings and used as necklaces and other ornaments. Tribes carried these shells inland. The farther from their source of supply, the more valuable grew these decorations. The belts and strings of wampum were used as a medium of exchange. The November 7, 1949 issue of the *Totem Pole* continues this discussion of wampum. It is the official bulletin of the Aboriginal Research Club of Detroit, an organization to encourage and promote the study of archaeology, the collection and study of American antiquities and Indian lore. Membership dues are \$1.00 a year; \$1.50 if the *Totem Pole* is to be mailed. Meetings are the first Monday of each month at the Detroit Historical Museum, 441 Merrick Avenue. All meetings are free and the public is invited.

"How successful were the European and American artists who pictured North American Indians in the days before the development of photography in portraying Indian racial traits in the faces of their models?" John C. Ewers discusses this issue in his article, "An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of North American Indians," in the New York Historical Society Quarterly for October, 1949. Among the painters of Indians mentioned are John Mix Stanley and George Arthur of Detroit.

"The Milwaukee Cement Company", written by Howard Greene and William T. Berthelet for the September, 1949 Wisconsin Magazine of History is the story of a firm in which descendants of an early Detroit family have been prominent. Berthelet's great-great grandfather, Pierre Berthelet, came to Detroit from Montreal in 1775. He owned the first public market and water supply establishment for the town, as well as much real estate.

DR. GASTON LITTON, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA ARCHIVIST, is author of "Good Homes and Newer Uses for Old Records," which appeared in the autumn, 1949 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Dr. Litton appeals to Oklahomans to aid the archival agencies of the state in the assembling and preservation of the significant materials which reflect the history of the state. Much of his advice is applicable to Michigan.

Craic Wilson tells the "True Story of the J. T. Wing" in Lakeland Yachting for November, 1949. The Wing was launched in 1921. She started her career in the mahogany trade from East Africa to ports along the New England coast. Then came a series of wrecks, reports of the illicit cargoes she carried. Grant H. Piggott of Detroit bought her in 1934 and for many years the Wing carried lumber on the Great Lakes and was used for a training ship for sea scouts. The final chapter in the story of the Wing was her conversion into a museum of Great Lakes history by the Detroit Historical Society. The museum was opened to the public on September 10, 1949.

THE FIRST INSTALLMENT OF TWO GREAT LAKES STORIES began in the spring, 1949 number of *Inland Seas*: "Logs for Saginaw" by Robert C. Johnson and "The William C. Moreland" written by a former Great Lakes sailor, Fred W. Dutton. Both are continued in the summer, 1949 issue together with R. G. Plumb's "Lake Michigan Shipping, 1830-1850" and a piece of verse by Grace Lee Nute, "A Name for All Time."

THE FORM FOR A LONG DISTANCE CALL dated Pontiac, January 29, 1894, was reproduced in the pages of the *Michigan Bell* for December, 1949. In those days many long distance calls were handled by the operator taking the calling party's name and telephone number. She then dispatched a messenger to the home of the person being called. A regular messenger fee was paid by the caller. Sometimes completion took several days.

Mr. Floyd L. Haight of Dearborn was one of the principal speakers at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, November 26, 1949. Appearing before the annual meeting section which dealt with policies for academic freedom and responsibility, Mr. Haight discussed the background of the work for academic freedom in Michigan. This dealt in large with a discussion of the American Legion criteria for the evaluation of instructional materials and the criteria formulated by other similar groups. Mr. Haight for several years was chairman of the educational committee of the American Legion which produced this set of criteria. October 28, 1949, Mr. Haight was elected to the board of trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan.

News and Comment

NOVEMBER 1, 1949, PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN signed the bill creating a National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States. General U. S. Grant, III, president of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings, said that the Council is taking steps to organize the National Trust and select its trustees.

The primary purpose of the National Trust will be to facilitate public participation in the preservation of sites, buildings, and objects of national significance or interest. It will encourage preservation on every level, national, regional, state, and local. It is also empowered to receive and administer for the public benefit buildings and sites worthy of permanent

preservation, which may be presented to it.

The National Trust will be a charitable, educational, and nonprofit corporation. No funds were requested from the Congress in the bill creating the National Trust. It will be supported by private donations of money, securities, or other property received for the purpose of carrying out the program of preservation. The National Trust will be administered under the general direction of a board of trustees. The board will be composed of the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of the National Gallery of Art, in addition to not less than six American citizens chosen by the executive board of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. These trustees, who will be nationally prominent men and women, will be chosen in the near future.

The National Trust bill was sponsored by the Department of the Interior through its National Park Service in order to further the policy enunciated in the Historic Sites Act of 1935. The provisions of the bill were based on a report made by a special committee of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings.

CONGRESS IN OCTOBER APPROPRIATED THE \$3,000,000 necessary to stage the sesquicentennial celebration of the establishment of the permanent capitol of the United States in Washington. Arrangements for this Freedom Fair are being handled by the National Sesquicentennial Com-

mission with Edward Boykin as director.

The commission's plans call for administering the Freedom Fair by a non-profit corporation headed by a group of prominent business men and for opening the fair as close to July 4, 1950, as construction schedules will permit. Present plans call for closing the Freedom Fair temporarily on November 22, 1950, and reopening on April 15, 1951, for a seven month run until November 22, 1951. The possibility of continuing the Freedom Fair beyond 1951 as a permanent international industrial trade fair has also been considered.

A part of the appropriation will provide for the construction of a permanent national memorial amphitheater, the preparation and presentation of a great historical symphonic drama to be presented in the amphitheater, the preparation and exhibit of historical art collections, and pageants, parades, and other special events. In the various other buildings to be built the Fair will house exhibits of the federal government, the states and territories, industry, labor, Great Britain, Canada, Mexico, the Central and South American republics, and the democratic nations of Europe and other parts of the world. Exhibit buildings will be in the form of the letters "U.S.A."

The Freedom Fair exposition is to be conveniently located in Anacostia Park on the banks of the Anacostia River in southeast Washington. Main traffic arteries, ample parking space, and an unobstructed site of one hundred and fourteen acres make it an ideal location. The main approach is from East Capitol Street, through Freedom Plaza to Freedom House which will be situated on high ground overlooking the entire fairgrounds area. Freedom House has been designed as a shrine of freedom, a children's center, a colorful entertainment and recreation area, and moderately priced restaurants.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., as a part of its summer session beginning June 12, 1950, wil offer intensive courses in archives administration, the preservation and interpretation of historic sites and buildings, and genealogical research. Organizations cooperating in one or more of the courses include the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the National Park Service, the Maryland Hall of Records, and Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

The sixth annual course in the Preservation and Administration of Archives will open on June 12 and continue through July 8. In addition to lectures, the course provides laboratory experience in the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records. Special lectures and laboratory work will be available for those concerned mainly with the administration of current records. Ernest Posner, professor of history and archives administration of the American University, will be director of the course.

The Institute in the Preservation and Interpretation of Historic Sites and Buildings, first offered in the summer of 1949, will be repeated from June 12 through July 1. Under the direction of Donald Derby of the American University meetings of the institute will be held in Washington during the first two weeks of the course and in Williamsburg during the last week. Lectures and field investigations will be planned by Ronald F. Lee, chief historian of the National Park Service, and by Edward P. Alexander, educational director of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

An Institute of Genealogical Research, directed by Meredith Colkett, Jr., of the National Archives, will be offered for the first time from June 12 through July 1. The institute will be given with the cooperation of

the National Archives and will provide lectures on sources and methods of genealogical research and laboratory work.

Further information on these courses may be obtained from the Office of the Director, School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, the American University, 1901 F Street, Northwest, Washington, 6, D.C.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL Association held its sixty-fourth annual meeting December 28-30, 1949, in Boston, Massachusetts. Headquarters were the Hotel Statler. Dr. Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, delivered the presidential address, "The Social Responsibilities of the Historian," at the annual dinner of the association, Thursday, December 29. Dr. Raymond C. Miller of Wayne University read the paper, "Third Parties, 1865 to 1900," before the session discussing "The Revaluation of Third Party Movements in the United States."

The State Historical Society of Missouri held its annual meeting November 4, 1949, in Columbia. Guest speakers were Dr. Philip D. Jordan of the department of history, the University of Minnesota and Dr. Clifford L. Lord, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This occasion was taken to announce three society acquisitions: a portrait of Thomas Jefferson, presumably painted by George Caleb Bingham; a View of Weston, Missouri, an historic record, painted by Augustus G. Beller; and a Missouri collection of religious items from the library of the late Bishop William Fletcher McMurry of Fayette.

THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION celebrated its fifteenth annual meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, November 10-12, 1949. Head-quarters were in the Williamsburg Lodge. The Association's business meeting and election of officers were held Friday, November 11, and were followed by the annual dinner at which Mr. Lester J. Cappon delivered the presidential address. "The Provincial South."

The Southern Historical Association was organized in Atlanta, Georgia, November 2, 1934. Its objectives include the promotion of interest and research in Southern history, the collection and preservation of the South's historical materials, the encouragement of state and local historical societies in the South, and the advancement of the teaching and study of all branches of history in the South. The Association publishes the *Journal of Southern History*.

THE NEWS THAT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, for fifteen years an independent agency, had become a constituent bureau of the newly created General Services Administration appeared in "News and Comment" in December, 1949. In *The American Archivist* for October, 1949, Oliver W. Holmes, of the national archives, tells the complete story under the title, "The National Archives at a Turn in the Road." Back of the legislation which effected the transfer were "three elements that came together as contributing factors: the persistent belief of administrators and political

scientists that there are too many independent agencies; the recent demand for a central general services agency for the Federal Government; and the movement for the more effective management of records in the Federal Government, not just the older records, which the National Archives was admittedly handling with reasonable effectiveness, but current and semi-current records which, for the most part, were beyond its authority." It is to this third element that Mr. Holmes devotes the greatest space.

An interesting archaeological article in the autumn, 1949 issue of the Northwest Ohio Quarterly is "The Toledo Mound—A Preliminary Report" by Albert Schulman. The purpose of this report, says the author, "is solely to report upon the existence of the mound (located on the southeastern side of Toledo, one mile outside of the city limits), state its obvious features and measurements, and generally prepare it for future study." Questions relating to the nature of the mound cannot be settled without supervised excavation. The author plans, during the year, to make a further study of the mound.

When, in the nineteenth century, agricultural frontiers moved across the Mississippi, writers of American fiction were given a new hero to handle, the western farmer. How this new hero was handled by various writers is shown in "The Western Farmer in Imaginative Literature, 1818-1891," a well-documented article written by Henry Nash Smith for the December, 1949 issue of The Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Among the writers and their books from which he quotes are Edward Eggleston's The Hoosier School-Master and Hamlin Garland's Main-Travelled Roads.

Henry Clyde Hubbart discusses "The Contribution of Local History to the Community" in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for July, 1949. In emphasizing the importance of history written from the local level Mr. Hubbart makes this statement: "An interest in local history is not a sign of senility; it is rather an evidence of the maturity of a civilization. As civilization matures, the saga of the locality takes on greater significance." A topical listing of publications, "A Survey of Publications in Ohio History, Archaeology, and Natural History, August 1948-July 1949," compiled by S. Winifred Smith, appeared in the October, 1949 issue of the Quarterly.

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century many denominational societies had swung into successful operation for the evangelization of the West. The most successful of the societies was the American Home Missionary Society formed by the merger of four denominations Presbyterian, Congregational, Dutch Reformed, and Associate Reformed. Frederick Kuhns provides "A Glimpse of Home Missionary Activities in the Old Northwest, 1826-1861" in the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for June, 1949.

Ohio has no modern cazetteer. Kent University has under way a project by which they hope to obtain a comprehensive list of Ohio place names using standardized procedures adopted by the United States Board on Geographic Names. Information on this project is contained in "A Preliminary Study of Geographic Names in Ohio" in Museum Echoes for November, 1949. The author, H. F. Raup, says, "We are interested in name origins in the state but this phase of research rightfully belongs in the field of the local historian. On this project we are more interested in finding the answers to such questions as these: To what extent are names of Indian origin still used in Ohio? To what extent can local language or nationality groups be said to have influenced Ohio's place names?" Place name guides have been published for Washington, Oregon, West Virginia, and California.

"LABOR AUTHORITIES GENERALLY CITE the railroad strikes of 1877 as the first instance in American history of the calling out of federal troops to intervene in a labor dispute." However, forty-three years before President Andrew Jackson sent federal troops into Maryland. Richard B. Morris corrects this error on the part of historians of the labor movement in his "Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker" in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1949. In the same issue Marshall W. Fishwick writes "A Note on World War II Naval Records."

The History Book Club's selection for December, Global Mission, is written by General H. H. ("Hap") Arnold, "commander-in-chief of the greatest air force the world has even seen." The book is the story of his life, of how our air power was developed, and of the great decisions and operations of World War II. Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains by Herbert E. Bolton was the club's selection for January. Bolton's book deals with that important period of American history, between Columbus' arrival in 1492 and the coming of the Pilgrims in 1607, when Coronado and his followers explored the southwest of the United States.

SEVERAL PAGES OF THE NOTES SECTION of the September, 1949 issue of *Minnesota History* are devoted to an account of the many celebrations throughout the state in observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Minnesota Territory and the Minnesota Historical Society. Further information on these events may be found in the October and November *News for Members*, the monthly bulletin sent by the society to its membership.

HELEN NICOLAY, ONLY DAUGHTER of Lincoln's private secretary and biographer, writes the lead article in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for September, 1949. Her story of "The Writing of Abraham Lincoln: A History" is a sketch of her father's career and the events which lead up to his writing, in collaboration with John Hay, of Abraham Lincoln: A History.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS IS PRINTING Wilbur R. Jacobs' Diplomacy and Indian Gifts, Anglo-French Rivalry on the Ohio and Northwest Frontier, 1748-1763. Chapter nine of this book was the basis for Mr. Jacobs' article in the December, 1949 issue of Michigan History. For the October, 1949 issue of The William and Mary Quarterly Mr. Jacobs wrote "Wampum, the Protocol of Indian Diplomacy," based on chapter one of his forthcoming book. "Wampum was a necessity in almost all native diplomacy. Belts were generally used for alliances, to prevent disputes, for friendship, to assure future fidelity, and to identify a messenger. Records of Indian treaties occasionally contained these words: 'Shew'd a string & retook it.' When a belt or string was returned, it denoted that the party addressed did not comply with the request."

"The Reconstruction days along the Upper Mississippi were days of tremendous activity in amateur entertainments. They served to hold the separate parts of the community together, giving each part its native expression. The German Theatre and the Emerald Dramatic Association were the outlets of the immigrant groups. The Negroes had their minstrel shows." So concludes Barbara Brice in the chapter from her master's thesis, "The Amateur Theatre in Iowa Life," published in *Mid-America* for October, 1949.

Bertram W. Korn for the June, 1949 American Jewish Archives wrote "Jewish 48'ers in America," in commemoration of the centenary of the Central European revolutions of 1848. Mr. Korn considers the lives and experiences of those active revolutionaries who emigrated to America. Twenty-eight have been located. Although the number of Jewish "Forty-eighters" who came to America was much smaller than is commonly believed, it is very possible that there are others whom the author has failed to discover. The author would appreciate any assistance possible in locating information about those not mentioned.

WITH VOLUME THREE, NUMBER 1, the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas, will become sponsor of the publication, Tlalocan, a journal of source materials on the native cultures of Mexico, published by La Casa de Tlaloc, Azcapotzalco, Mexico, D.F. The journal was founded by George Smisor and Robert H. Barlow. Institutions in the United States interested in receiving Tlalocan on an exchange basis are requested to communicate with the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas.

MILDRED THRONE, EDITOR of the *Iowa Journal of History*, writes the lead story for the October, 1949 issue, "The Grange in Iowa, 1868-1875." The rise and fall of agrarian movements can be followed vividly on graphs of the fall and rise of the price index," writes Miss Throne. She cites a 1942 Research Bulletin on farm prices in Iowa from 1851 to 1940, prepared by the Agricultural Experiment Station of Iowa State College.

A study of the graphs shows declining prices for the early 1870's, the years when the high tide of the war boom was receding. The farmer was beset by high freight rates, a depreciated currency, and a protective tariff which protected only the industrialists. The farmer was economically ready for the Grange movement. The graphs referred to by Miss Throne also show the interesting contrast. In the late 1870's with the rise of prices there is a decline in the Grange in Iowa and likewise throughout the nation. In this issue two successful historical tours made by the State Historical Society of Iowa in July, 1949, on board steamboats on the Mississippi, are described.

OLAF THEODORE HAGEN, REGIONAL HISTORIAN, region two office, National Park Service, Omaha, died at his home of a heart attack on August 27. Mr. Hagen's rather sudden and most untimely death came as a distinct shock to his friends in the National Park Service and the historical profession.

Born in 1904 in Kittson County, Minnesota, of Norwegian parentage, Mr. Hagen attended Concordia College at Moorhead, Minnesota, and took graduate work at the University of Washington, California, and Minnesota. He received his Master's degree from the University of Minnesota in 1930 and lacked only the completion of a thesis to achieve his doctorate. His career with the National Park Service, beginning in 1933, included service at Meriwether Lewis National Monument and Vicksburg and Shiloh National Military parks. From 1937 until 1942, he was regional historian, region four, of the National Park Service, with headquarters in San Francisco. During the war he served first as superintendent of Chalmette National Historical Park, New Orleans, Louisiana, later as administrative assistant to the director of the National Park Service, with headquarters in Chicago.

Mr. Hagen undertook his most recent assignment in 1946. He aided notably in the task of developing Homestead, Fort Laramie, Custer Battlefield, Mount Rushmore, and other national historical areas. His inquiries ranged widely over the field of early Western history, encompassing such topics as Fort Osage, Fort Snelling, Fort Atkinson, Jefferson Barracks, Chicago Portage, the Verendryes, and the Pony Express. Several of his monographs have been published in professional journals. His most recent work was "Lessons in Democracy in the Badlands of North Dakota," an original study relative to the new Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park near Mecora, North Dakota. It was published in the April-May, 1949 issue of The North Dakota Teacher.

A man of exceptional talents as a research worker, writer, and speaker, a vigorous and engaging personality, a true practical idealist, his passing is a great loss to the cultural community of the Midwest.

Reviews of Books

The UAW and Walter Reuther. By Irving Howe and B. J Widick. (New York, Random House, 1949. [x], 310 p. \$3.00.)

In this short account of one of the present-day great labor organizations, the authors have written an astonishingly objective history. Their objectivity is all the more remarkable when one remembers that both authors are known UAW sympathizers—one (B. J. Widick) being a chief steward at one of the Big Three automobile plants. As the title implies this book is not strictly a history of the UAW nor a biography of its president, Walter Reuther, but the story of the part each one plays in the other's life.

The account starts with an excellent analysis of "Life in the Factory City" which is the setting for the next eight chapters. These deal with the early struggles, such as the sitdown strikes of the 1930's; organization of the Big Three; growth; and the rise of the Reuther group to power. The last three chapters discuss the problems now facing not only the UAW but also the other large industrial unions of today. In "The Life of a Union," concerned primarily with the UAW but also applicable to other CIO affiliates, there is both an apology for and a warning against the growing bureaucratic tendencies which are becoming more and more prevalent in the big industrial unions. But the authors have faith in the UAW.

Interspersed throughout the book there is much social philosophy for the purpose of explaining union actions and goals. Most of this philosophy is that of Walter Reuther, whose programs are both "an immediate economic proposal and a statement of his social philosophy" (p. 184). This is well exemplified in the discussion of his 1946 fight with General Motors over the matter of wage increases based on the ability of the corporation to pay (pp. 132-48), and his housing program of 1949 (pp. 184-86).

For all the book's objectivity it is definitely pro-UAW as against other CIO unions and pro-CIO as against the craft union AF of L. The leaders of the latter are referred to as "Babbitts" (p. 52) and the unions as "insipid" (p. 190). These unions have become bureaucratized and have thus lost their democracy. "This 'business psychology' of the craft unionists, possible only in an atmosphere of economic well-being, is a major factor making for racketeering in the AFL" (pp. 244-45). Some exceptions are made, however, particularly in the case of the ITU. "But by and large the usual AFL craft union tends to become bureaucratic because its members can afford the luxury of supporting a parasitic leadership" (p. 245).

One might also quarrel with the authors in various places over inadequate documentation. For example, is a single newspaper reference sufficient for the statement that John L. Lewis was "prodded by a perturbed White House" in 1936 to secure an endorsement for President Roosevelt? (p. 53). Or what is the reference for the assertion that John Gallo was fired from Ford's in 1940 for smiling? (p. 93). These and other instances of scanty documentation or none at all throws some doubt upon the soundness of the research done.

The sources used are largely the obvious ones, newspapers, periodicals, union journals, books, and pamphlets. This is no reflection on the authors, however, since it is not likely they would be given free run of the union's correspondence and confidential files.

On the whole, the book is very well done and it gives as clear and unbiased a picture of the UAW as can be expected at the present time.

Wayne University

Joe L. Norris

The Moran Family: 200 Years in Detroit. By J. Bell Moran. (Detroit, Alved of Detroit, Incorporated, 1949. [xxxii], 152 p. Illustrated. \$3.75.)

Detroit is sometimes characterized as a city inhabited by people who came from somewhere else. There is much truth in this generalization, but many families have roots deep in the local soil. One of them is the Moran family, which has lived in Detroit for two hundred years.

J. Bell Moran, the historian of the family, in his book recounts the careers of his ancestors, beginning with Jacques Morand, the first to emigrate from France to Canada. (The name has been spelled variously: Morant, Morand, and Moran.) His son, Claude Charles, who went to Fort Pontchartrain, Detroit, in 1749, lived to see the post occupied by soldiers of King George III, and his children witnessed the arrival of the American garrison in 1796.

Unfortunately, the Moran family preserved few family papers, and so the author, in writing the earlier chapters of his book, had to depend largely on scanty official records for information about his ancestors. Details become more numerous after 1800. Judge Charles Moran, grandfather of J. Bell, held offices in the territory, state, and city; and John Vallee, his father, was a wholesale merchant with interests in various manufacturing concerns. A number of the Morans were pioneers in the industrial development of Detroit during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The last chapter, which is entitled "As I Remember," is autobiographical. Here the author is not handicapped by lack of material. Beginning with his boyhood and youth in the family home on East Jefferson at Orleans, he writes engagingly of the good old days. He recalls some youthful pranks, life on the farm at Grosse Pointe during many summers, his education, the old Wonderland at Woodward and Jefferson, the Russell House and the

Pontchartrain, early days of the automobile industry, and his own business career. In spite of his busy days, Mr. Moran found time to help organize the Detroit Historical Society, of which he is a director, and he was formerly a member of the City Planning Commission.

Mr. Moran has written a book which is surely interesting to his children, for whom he wrote it, and to other Detroiters as well. In it they will find much to help them understand the development of their city.

University of Michigan

F. CLEVER BALD

The Earth Brought Forth: A History of Minnesota Agriculture to 1885. By Merrill E. Jarchow. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1949. [xiv], 316 p. Illustrated. \$3.00.)

Minnesota celebrated in 1949 its one hundred years of development since becoming a territory and this volume on agricultural history is a contribution for this occasion. The study, according to the author, "is an attempt in a small way to commemorate the struggles, ordeals, sorrows, joys, and achievements of those pioneers who established Minnesota farming on a firm foundation and who adapted it to its own distinctive environment."

Agricultural historians have for some time agreed that one of the pressing needs for a better understanding of American agricultural development is a series of studies on the local level; this volume is an excellent example of this type of research. Dr. Merrill Jarchow in the writing of this book has not forgotten that farmers are people. He comes to his task well qualified in position and training and through his close acquaintance with the history of that state he has been able to draw from diaries, letters, journals, ledgers, and recollections a most intimate picture of the people. He clearly shows how climate, soil, and timber played their parts in shaping the course of the state's basic industry; how the early settlers acquired their land, often battling fiercely with the speculators and claim jumpers; how they struggled to clear the land and break the tough prairie sod; how they built their crude houses, tools and implements; how their women folk carried on their daily tasks in the midst of hardship and suffering; and how their social activities tempered the austerity of frontier existence.

This volume is well organized and properly balanced between the economic and social aspects of the subject. After an introductory chapter, in which he sketches a bird's-eye view of the whole period, Dr. Jarchow describes the role of the physical environment as a "powerful determinant" in affecting the agricultural characteristics of this area. He does not hold too rigidly to the influence of these natural forces. However, it is pointed out that many of the early settlers came to Minnesota with preconceived ideas of farming and were ultimately compelled by trial and error, and in

many cases hard experiences, to modify their patterns and techniques in order to succeed in this region. On this controversial topic he has taken a middle-of-the-road position. Following this chapter much space is given to the introduction of farm machinery and its evolution from the crude pioneer implements to the highly developed labor-saving devices. The influence of these inventions were not all to the good, however, for they not only revolutionized production, but, as the author points out, they in too many cases created problems not the least of which was the large percentage of farmers that were lured "into buying and running into debt" to the extent that they were forced to mortgage their holdings at exorbitant rates of interest. These experiences manifested themselves in the political and social life of the period.

There is an excellent chapter on the raising of wheat during the formative period. This single crop was king for many years as it opened the way to fortune for many, and so attractive was it to the average farmer that he neglected other phases of farming almost entirely. The story of the rise of this one-crop system and the beginnings of its decline is one of the most interesting aspects of the volume. With the building of the railroads into the western part of the state large bonanzas of wheat growers arose and around this staple crop there came into being the milling centers that are so prominent today. By the late seventies there was a movement in the older sections of the state to shift from wheat and turn more to diversification that included the raising of livestock and the subsequent development of the dairying industry. There are serviceable chapters on both these important branches of agriculture.

Another interesting section of the book is the part dealing with the bizarre experiments that were tried out by thousands of farmers with almost every conceivable product in an effort to discover the best means to advance their standard of living. Minnesota farmers were no different from those in other parts of the country and were frequently preyed upon by charlatans who had some new and "marvelous" seed, piece of machinery or patented device that they hawked off on the innocent settler who was always ready and willing to try out something new. The motivation to get rich quick was quite prevalent even in those days. From these many experiments, however, a sound agricultural economy ultimately emerged in Minnesota that made the North Star State one of the foremost of the nation.

The author has concluded with a short chapter on the development of early agricultural societies and fairs which gave evidence that the older forms so long in practice in eastern states had been transported to this section. These annual exhibitions were of primary importance not only by giving the isolated farmer a chance to meet his fellowmen, to have a good time, and to show him the latest in machinery, fine livestock, and new techniques in farming, but they gave him real incentive to improve his own way of life.

This volume ranks with the best of the state agricultural histories, and it is a credit to the author and to the Minnesota Historical Society who published it. Dr. Jarchow writes well and many of his quotations make for interesting reading. He has included a large number of footnote references which should be of service to all students who are interested in agricultural history for that region. This volume is free of errors and shows an immense amount of accuracy in proofreading. Since this volume terminates in 1885 it is hoped that the author will extend his research and bring the subject up through the modern period.

Northern Illinois State Teachers College

EARL W. HAYTER

Rochester: The Flower City, 1855-1890. By Blake McKelvey. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1949. [xx], 412 p. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

This is the second volume that Dr. Blake McKelvey, city historian of Rochester, New York, has written on the history of that city. The first covered the period from the founding to 1855; the present volume carries the story to 1890. It is another fine example of what can be done by an energetic community, sparked by some of its history-minded citizens.

By 1855, Rochester the Water Power City had given way to Rochester the Flower City, so named because the dominent feature in its physical landscape was the extensive nurseries of flowers and fruit trees that practically ringed the city. The new cognomen, while not inaccurate, was somewhat misleading, judging by Dr. McKelvey's subtitle for this volume: "A Story of Cosmopolitan Rebirth in An Age of Enterprise." The achievements and problems of Rochester in the thirty-five years before 1890 were not characteristically horticultural but were in the main those of late nineteenth century industrial urbanization. The most important factors in this process were the rapid growth of population, the dynamic expansion of industry and retail business, the creation of a large class of factory wage earners, industrial booms and busts, the influence of large numbers of foreign born, and the institutional adjustments to the growing complexity of public and private social services. Dr. McKelvey also gives ample recognition to the achievements of outstanding personalities, but insists that the period was one of "institutional ascendance," when organized groups rather than individuals provided the vehicles for the economic, social, and cultural activities of the city. All of these topics and many others are severally considered within four broad stages: "the late fifties, a period of hesitancy and indecision; the Civil War and its travail; the new hopes and failures of Reconstruction days; and finally the larger achievements of the late seventies and eighties."

Dr. McKelvey in his foreword faces up to the problems so crucial to the writing of this sort of history, problems of organization, selection, and general approach, and courageously makes his choice. He will not organize his material topically in a broad sense, presenting "separate strands of the city's history," for this method would produce a false picture and "utterly ... destroy the pattern." The basic changes, the facts and events of the city's history, he believes, can be seen clearly only when juxtaposed in the total contemporary picture. Thus, he has preferred to divide his account into four natural, temporal phases and discuss the important aspects of urban development within each phase. Further, in the selection of his material, he has tried "to preserve the contemporary setting of events and to recount them as they seemed to command attention by the rise and fall of emphasis in the daily newspapers...." Finally, although admitting the use of present-day perspectives, he has not "sought to pass a twentieth century judgment on a nineteenth century community." I suspect, too, that the anticipated claims of history-minded citizens of Rochester of the twentieth century as against those of urban historians in general may also have affected Dr. McKelvey's selection of data.

The volume at hand conforms to its author's specifications but the results are perhaps not what he must have wished. The work is not easy to read. Even the style, simple, clear, and at times engaging, staggers under the burden of detail and shows the strain of trying to weave the separate enclaves of narrative together with farfetched transitional sentences. No broad themes and trends emerge unmistakably and forcefully, and the generalized expositions preceding each section and subsection are insufficient to provide concrete understanding of organic continuity. Dr. Mc-Kelvey's efforts to preserve contemporaneity have kept him too close to his notes, so to speak, and the result has been a reasonable facsimile of the past rather than its sound interpretation and analysis. One has the feeling of reading illustrations of the life of a community rather than a history of it. The heavy reliance on newspapers, the most frequently quoted source, was perhaps responsible for this fragmented effect. One may even question the use of newspapers of that day as an accurate index to the importance or lack of it in various urban developments.

It is no longer sufficient, moreover, to go on illustrating the time-worn generalizations evolved by the first historians of the rise of the city. We need fresh insights and perspectives with which to view the history of our cities. American urban culture is a part of a greater whole and is not to be divorced from it by specialists in the history of cities. Some of the findings of the historians of American society and culture may well be applied and tested in the study of a particular milieu. The following may be cited as examples: the function of bosses and political machines as the medium by which the great mass of unprivileged entered into political life and as an adaptive mechanism for the urban foreign born; the dichotomy in American cultural activities between the cultivated European tradition and the native vernacular tradition; the distinction between the socializing tendencies consequent on industrial development and the older commercial individualism with its own brand of communal spirit;

the city as a magnet for the population of its surrounding rural areas; the growth of the urban middle class of small business men and white collar and service workers and the role of these groups in setting the tone of many aspects of urban life.

To be more specific. Dr. McKelvey writes of the renaissance of the arts in Rochester between 1875 and 1890, citing the galleries filled with copies of old masters and original second-rate Italian paintings, the devotional trips to the museums and studios of Europe by wealthy dilettantes and aspiring artists, the wealthy art collectors, etc. All this activity, however, can hardly be called a rebirth. Rather, it bespoke, on the local scene, the derivative state of the arts in the country as a whole, their almost complete domination by the cultivated European tradition. It consisted essentially of the attempts of a new leisure class to deck itself in the cultural finery it conceived to be appropriate to its station in life. A more balanced picture of the state of the arts in Rochester would have given consideration to some of the things fashioned and designed by Americans when they were not thinking of art and culture. Consciously or unconsciously, and often shackled by the older tradition, American craftsmen in the cities were working out new conceptions of design and esthetic principle. Their efforts, successes and failures, could have been studied in Rochester in such things as homes, factories, business buildings, horsecars, cameras, bridges, shoe machinery, furniture, and carriages. In these could be discerned the conflict between the cultivated or imported tradition of what was beautiful and the esthetic impulses of a different, functional, and native origin.

Briefly, Dr. McKelvey's chronicle of Rochester is satisfactory as far as it goes. But the time has come for urban historians to go much further.

Michigan State College

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD

The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925. By Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. Volume one (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. [xviii], 740 p. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

Samuel Morison in his Three Centuries of Harvard reinforced the impression that Harvard is unique; Curti and Carstensen proceed on the assumption that Wisconsin is typical. Typical of the Midwestern state institution in the breadth of its program, typical in its relations with the people, with the legislature, and with the private colleges, typical in the ways of regents, professors, and students. This effort to place the University in its intellectual setting has made the work of more than common interest. So, too, has the skill with which it is written. Notable is the emphasis upon the problems of a university and the solutions attempted.

Not that Wisconsin lacks uniqueness. For the historian, the name of Frederick Jackson Turner contradicts the charge. There is the matter, too, of academic freedom for which the University of Wisconsin has been

famous for half a century. In 1894 papers over the nation weighed the charges that Richard T. Ely, professor of economics, was teaching socialism and encouraging labor unions. When the Regents investigated and found no basis for the accusation, they not only cleared Professor Ely but went on to clear the University of the suspicion that it was censoring its professors: "It is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of truth wherever they may lead...." Subsequent volumes should show the way in which that reputation, earned in 1894, was preserved.

Michigan State College

MADISON KUHN

Contributors

Dr. Earl W. Hayter, professor of the social sciences at Northern Illinois State Teachers College, is a frequent contributor to historical journals. He is a member of the State Historical Society of Illinois, the Agricultural Historical Society, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Dr. Hayter is at present at work on a monograph on American farm fences.

The study of the Michigan men who went to the gold fields of California, contributed by Mr. Daniel M. Epstein to this issue, is the expansion of a seminar paper in American history. Mr. Epstein is at present a high school history teacher in Washington D.C., having previously served as a faculty member of the American University in Biarritz, France. He assisted in the research necessary for the preparation of "The Genesis of the Lincoln Religious Controversy" for the Proceedings of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers, volume 36, 1938.

The installment of Ferris Lewis' "Frederic: A Typical Logging Village in the Twilight of the Lumbering Era, 1912-18," appearing in this issue is the third and final portion of his story of Frederic. Parts one and two appeared in the December, 1948 and the June, 1948 issues of *Michigan History*. For several years Mr. Lewis has been collecting material on the lumber industry in Michigan. He was surprised by the lack of authentic and detailed material written on the subject for the average reader. Then and there Mr. Lewis determined to set down his own boyhood memories of Frederic, the lumber town in which he grew to manhood. The years which he has covered in this story are those in which the lumber industry in Frederic was in its decline, twilight days of the lumber era.

Dr. Willis F. Dunbar is director of public affairs for radio station WKZO, Kalamazoo. During the past year Dr. Dunbar received a Rockefeller grant from Michigan State College for the revision and completion of his doctoral manuscript on the history of Michigan. He is a past president of the Historical Society of Michigan and is at present chairman of the society's committee on publicity and promotion.

The "Michigan Folklore" section of the September, 1949 issue of Michigan History carried a short item, "The Michigan Bedbug Story." We regret that no acknowledgment was made to Dr. Russel B. Nye, head of the school of literature and fine arts, Michigan State College, who contributed this interesting piece of miscellanea.

